This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

21.25

21.25
*

HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY

GIVEN IN MEMORY OF

LIONEL DE JERSEY HARVARD

CLASS OF 1915

KILLED IN ACTION

BOISLEUX-AU-MONT, FRANCE

MARCH 30, 1918

A CONFERENCE OF PLEASURE.

A

CONFERENCE OF PLEASURE,

COMPOSED FOR SOME FESTIVE

OCCASION ABOUT THE

YEAR 1592

BY FRANCIS BACON.

EDITED, FROM A MANUSCRIPT BELONGING TO

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

BY JAMES SPEDDING.

LONDON:

LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER.

1870.

IHHic 3. 21.25
*

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
IN MEMORY OF
LIONEL DE JERSEY HARVARD
CLASS OF 1915
May 28, 1920

INTRODUCTION.

IN the ſupplement to a volume of "Letters of the Lord Chancellor Bacon," publiſhed in 1734, and commonly referred to as "Stephens's ſecond collection," ſeveral of his ſmaller pieces, both political and philoſophical, appeared in print for the firſt time: among the reſt, two of the moſt remarkable of his early compoſitions—namely, "Mr. Bacon's diſcourſe in prayſe of his Soveraigne" and "Mr. Bacon in prayſe of knowledge;"—of which the hiſtory and true character has been hitherto doubtful.

My own conjecture was that they both formed part of ſome fanciful device preſented at the Court of Elizabeth in 1592; and accordingly, in the laſt edition of Bacon's works, the arrangement of which was ſuggeſted by myſelf, I reſerved them for their place among what I call his "occaſional" writings of that year, and introduced them with ſome explanatory remarks which will form the moſt convenient introduction to what follows.

"They were found," I ſaid, writing in 1861, "among the papers ſubmitted to Stephens by Lord Oxford, and printed by Locker in the ſupplement to his ſecond collection in 1734. The MSS. are ſtill to be ſeen in the Britiſh Muſeum; fair copies in an old hand, with the titles given above, but no further explanation. My reaſon for ſuſpecting that they were compoſed for ſome maſque, or ſhow, or other fictitious occaſion, is partly that the ſpeech in praiſe of knowledge profeſſes to have been ſpoken in "a conference of pleaſure," and the ſpeech in praiſe of Elizabeth appears by the opening ſentence to have been preceded by three others, one of which *was* in praiſe, of knowledge; partly that, earneſt and full of matter as they both are, (the one containing the germ of the firſt book of the Novum Organum, the other of the "Obſervations on a Libel," which are nothing leſs than a ſubſtantial hiſtorical defence of the Queen's government,) there is nevertheleſs in the *ſtyle* of both a certain affectation and rhetorical cadence, traceable in Bacon's other compoſitions of this kind, and agreeable to the taſte of the time; but ſo alien to his own individual taſte and natural manner, that there is no ſingle feature by which his ſtyle is more ſpecially diſtinguiſhed, wherever he ſpeaks in his own perſon, whether formally or familiarly, whether in the way of narrative, argument, or oration, than the total abſence of it. That theſe pieces were both compoſed for ſome occaſion of com-

pliment, more or leſs fanciful, I feel very confident; and if it ſhould ever appear that about the autumn of 1592 (the date to which the hiſtorical alluſions in the diſcourſe in praiſe of Elizabeth point moſt nearly) a "device" was exhibited at Court, in which three ſpeakers came forward in turn, each extolling his own favourite virtue (a form which Bacon affected on theſe occaſions, as will appear hereafter in two notable examples),—the firſt delivering an oration in praiſe of magnanimity, the ſecond of love, the third of knowledge,—and then a fourth came in with an oration in praiſe of the Queen, as combining in herſelf the perfection of all three; I ſhould feel little doubt that the pieces before us were compoſed by Bacon for that exhibition. Unfortunately we have no detailed account of the Queen's day in 1592; we only know that it was "more ſolemniſed than ever, and *that through my Lord of Eſſex his device.*" . . . .

"What little we do know of the facts therefore is compatible with my conjecture. Eſſex adorned the triumphs of the 17th of November, 1592, with ſome diſtinguiſhed "device," and Bacon was about the Court. If any news-letter giving an account of the ſolemnities ſhould turn up, it would probably ſettle the queſtion one way or other. In the meantime, this is the proper place for the Diſcourſe in praiſe of the Queen, being the date which the ſeveral alluſions in it beſt fit; and in the abſence of all other grounds of conjecture as to the time when the "Praiſe of

Knowledge" was compoſed, the alluſion in the opening ſentence of the other is ground enough for placing it here."[1]

Such was the ſtate of the queſtion up to the year 1867, when the diſcovery in Northumberland Houſe of a manuſcript containing copies of ſome of Bacon's early writings threw a little freſh light upon it. In that year, Earl Percy (now Duke of Northumberland) wiſhing to have the papers in his poſſeſſion properly examined, preſerved, and thoſe of public intereſt turned to account, had requeſted the late Mr. John Bruce, whoſe loſs is ſo deeply felt by all perſons intereſted in hiſtorical and antiquarian literature, to inſpect them. In one of the bundles ſubmitted to him he found a paper book, much damaged by fire about the edges, though not ſo much as to make the contents generally undecipherable; and the piece which ſtood firſt, under the odd and not very ſignificant title of "Mr. Fr: Bacon of tribute or giving that wch is due," proved on examination to be a copy of the entire device of which the "praiſe of knowledge" and the "praiſe of his ſovereign," formed part. It did not indeed throw any new light upon the date or the occaſion, but it completely explained the order and plan of it; which is very ſimple. Four friends, diſtinguiſhed as A, B, C, and D, meet for intellectual amuſement. A aſſumes the direction of their pro-

[1] Letters and Life of Bacon, vol. i. p. 119.

ceedings, and propoſes that each in turn ſhall make a ſpeech in praiſe of whatever he holds moſt worthy. Upon which B (after a word or two of proteſt in favour of ſatire, as better ſuited to the humour of the time than praiſe) begins with a ſpeech in praiſe of "the worthieſt virtue," namely, Fortitude. C follows with a ſpeech in praiſe of "the worthieſt affection," namely, Love. D with a ſpeech in praiſe of "the worthieſt power," namely, Knowledge. And A himſelf concludes with a ſpeech in praiſe of "the worthieſt perſon," namely, the Queen.

The two firſt of theſe ſpeeches being quite new, and the tranſcript of the others being more correct than that uſed by Stephens, it was thought worth while to print the entire piece; and I have been charged with the duty of editor.

The two laſt ſpeeches preſent little or no difficulty. The loſt words can all be ſupplied from the other manuſcript, and little more is required than to ſee that they are printed correctly. How the two firſt ſhould be dealt with, it was not ſo eaſy to decide. The fire has eaten away two or three words from the end of every line on all the right-hand pages, and three or four whole lines from the bottom of every page, both right and left. For the loſſes at the bottom it was clear that nothing could be done but to mark the place and the extent. To ſupply by conjecture ſo much as the probable import of ſixty or ſeventy conſecutive words, with no direction except

to make them fit with the context before and after, is a problem which it would be idleneſs to attempt. Until another copy ſhall be diſcovered, thoſe loſſes muſt be regarded as ſimply irretrievable. But where only two or three words are miſſing at the end of each line, the caſe is very different. The words which will fit into ſuch a ſpace and make both ſenſe and grammar are ſo limited in number, that their general import may almoſt always be determined with accuracy; and in moſt caſes a fair gueſs may be made at the words themſelves. But all depends upon knowing how much room they filled. An attempt to make proviſion either for too many or too few miſleads the gueſſer and ſpoils the gueſs. In order, therefore, that the reader may have the requiſite *data* for exerciſing his own judgment on the queſtion, it was neceſſary as far as poſſible to preſerve in the printed page the due proportion between the part which remains and the part which has been loſt in each line. Now this is often difficult, and ſometimes impracticable, owing to the impoſſibility of imitating in type the various irregularities of handwriting. But the way I have attempted it is this: Taking the length of a full line in the manuſcript, and dividing it into ſmall parts, and then dividing the length of the printed line into an equal number of parts, I had a ſcale by which I could meaſure any length of either upon the other; and uſing a bracket to mark the place where the break in the manuſcript begins, I had it placed at a point in each printed line correſponding, as nearly as

poſſible, to the point in the written line which the fire had reached. In this way the ſpace within which conjecture may range has been defined in the printed page with as much accuracy perhaps as would be uſeful. *Abſolute* accuracy it would hardly have been worth while to attempt; for even with the original paper before us the abſolute number of loſt letters cannot be fixed; allowance having poſſibly to be made either for blank ſpaces left at the end of lines where the next word was too long to go in, or for words written and croſſed out, or for words inſerted between the lines. But I think I may ſay that the caſes are either none or very few in which any words that will fill up the portion of the printed line beyond the bracket *might* not have been written in the portion of the line which is burned off, and in the natural handwriting of the ſame tranſcriber.

The next queſtion was whether the portions of the lines beyond the brackets ſhould be left blank, to be ſupplied according to the taſte of each reader, or whether an attempt ſhould be made to aſſiſt him by ſupplying them conjecturally, and at leaſt ſhowing one way in which it may be done. The reſult of my own ſtudy of the mutilated manuſcript has convinced me that it is beſt to make the attempt. The loſs of two or three words at the end of every line makes it impoſſible to follow the ſenſe as you read; and the neceſſity of ſtopping to make it out deſtroys the effect of the compoſition upon the imagination. Nay, even after you have made it out and filled up the blanks to

your own ſatisfaction, a ſecond reading, unleſs the words are ſet down in their places, will prove but an uneaſy progreſs; and I fancy that even of diligent readers few will take pleaſure in it. I have therefore filled up theſe blanks as well as I could; the bracket always ſhowing where my inventions begin, and the conditions as to ſpace which they were bound to ſatisfy; and if I have not hit upon the right words, I have at leaſt made all the pages readable, except for the three or four lines at the bottom,—the loſs of which, though much to be regretted, is not enough (being only three or four in every forty) to neutralize the value of the reſt.

Of what remains of the manuſcript I have endeavoured to give an exact copy in all reſpects but one; and that is the punctuation; an exact repreſentation of which would have made the printed page difficult to read, and ſerved no uſeful purpoſe. The tranſcriber was probably accuſtomed to copy legal documents, in which points had no value, and ſentences were not divided. For though it cannot be ſaid that there is no punctuation at all, it is introduced ſo irregularly that it ſerves rather to confuſe than to explain the conſtruction. The end of a ſentence is often not marked by a full ſtop. The beginning of the next is rarely diſtinguiſhed by a capital letter. Commas, colons, and notes of interrogation are inſerted occaſionally, but upon no ſyſtem; and if all the points had been omitted altogether, the conſtruction would, I think, upon the whole have been clearer.

For though the compoſition was not meant to be independent of punctuation, there is in fact no ſingle place in which the intended conſtruction is really doubtful. Preſuming therefore that the punctuation of the manuſcript means nothing, I have taken the liberty of ſubſtituting my own, and alſo of putting capital letters at the beginnings of ſentences. In every thing elſe the manuſcript has been exactly followed. No alteration in the ſpelling has been conſciouſly allowed; and all the contractions have been carefully preſerved. I have not, indeed, cared to imitate the particular *form* of contraction uſed in each caſe by the tranſcriber, but wherever a contraction occurs I have uſed ſome form of letter which will ſufficiently indicate the contraction intended. This I held to be important, as bearing upon the filling up of the blank ſpaces; for both the ſpelling and the contractions make a conſiderable difference in the ſpace which a word will occupy. Only in the paſſages which are ſupplied from Stephens's manuſcript (the orthography of which varies conſiderably from this in thoſe parts which can be compared, and would be quite as likely to miſlead the conjecturer as to guide him), I have not cared to reproduce the exact forms, nor refrained from obvious corrections of the text.

The Northumberland Houſe manuſcript is, for the moſt part, remarkably clear and correct; it is very ſeldom that there can be any doubt what letter is intended, and the miſtakes are very few. Still miſtakes do occur. Here and there a word is omitted:

once or twice a word or phraſe is repeated: once or twice a word has evidently been miſread. Nevertheleſs, I have tried to repreſent the manuſcript in its original ſtate, errors and all; reſerving all corrections, as well as all explanations and illuſtrations, to the notes at the end. Where an interlinear inſertion of an omitted word has been apparently made by the tranſcriber himſelf, I have preſerved it; admitting the word into its place in the line, if there was room; inſerting it between the lines, if there was not. But interlinear inſertions or corrections by another hand, of which there are a few, I have neglected in the text, and reſerved for deſcription in the notes. Theſe are all conjectural emendations, ſometimes certainly wrong, ſometimes meant apparently for corrections, not of the text, but of the opinion expreſſed in it, and are clearly no part of the original writing, nor made by the writer's authority.

One of my chief difficulties has ariſen from the irregularity of the hand-writing in point of cloſeneſs; which, though always very clear, and apparently very uniform, contrives ſometimes to get more words into the line than can be printed without overcrowding, and ſometimes to fill the line up with fewer than can be ſpread over the printed line without ſcattering. To meet this difficulty with the leaſt disfigurement of the page, and yet obſerve the rule of printing line for line, the margin has in ſome pages been a little contracted or a little enlarged, as the caſe required.

It will naturally be aſked what elſe the manuſcript contains. It is a folio volume of twenty-two ſheets, which have been laid one upon the other, folded double (as in an ordinary quire of paper), and faſtened by a ſtitch through the centre.[1] But as the pages are not numbered, and the faſtening is gone, it may once have contained more, and, if we may judge by what is ſtill legible on the much beſcribbled outſide leaf which once ſerved for a table of contents, there is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that it did. This leaf has one feature which has been thought ſingular enough to make it worth giving in *fac-ſimile*, and which I will ſpeak of preſently. But I will firſt deal with the queſtion concerning the contents of the volume which it covered; and I begin with an account of what it contains now.

1. Firſt comes the piece which is here printed, and of which, therefore, I need ſay no more.

2. A ſhort eſſay, entitled *Of Magnanimitie or heroicall Vertue*. This is evidently a compoſition of Bacon's; but the ſubſtance is to be found in a better form in the *Advancement of Learning*.

3. *An advertiſement touching private cenſ*[*ure*]. This is an enquiry concerning the limits and bounds of what we ſhould now call "toleration" in religious

[1] One leaf, however,—that which would have been the tenth,—is miſſing: and one, which is the fourth, appears to have been glued or paſted in.

diſputes; a rudiment, apparently, of the piece which follows.

4. *An advertiſement touching the controverſies of the Church of England.* This is Bacon's well-known tract, firſt printed in 1640, and to be found in all editions of his collected works.

5. *A letter to a French gent: touching y^e^ proceedings in Engl: in eccleſiaſticall cauſes, tranſlated out of French into Engliſh by W. W.* This is an unfiniſhed paper; but it is a copy, ſo far as it goes, of the ſame letter which was firſt printed in the *Scrinia ſacra* (Ed. 1654), with the heading, "Sir Francis Walſingham, Secretary, to Monſieur Critoy, ſecretary of France:" a letter which I have always believed to have been written by Bacon. See *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, vol. i. pp. 95—102. This copy ends abruptly towards the bottom of the ſecond page, the other ſide of which is left blank.

It is to be obſerved that this is the middle ſheet of the volume, and if it ever contained more, this is the place where they muſt have come in.

6. *The Hermitt's fyrſt ſpeach.*

7. *The Hermitt's ſecond ſpeach.*

8. *The ſoldier's ſpeach.*

9. *The ſecretarie's ſpeach.*

10. *The Squyre's ſpeach.*

Theſe are the ſpeeches written by Bacon for a "Device" preſented by the Earl of Eſſex on the Queen's day, 1595; concerning which ſee *Letters*

and Life of Francis Bacon, vol. i. pp. 374—386. The principal difference between this copy and that at Lambeth, from which the printed copy was taken, is that this does *not* contain "The Squire's ſpeech in the tilt-yard," with which the other begins, and *does* contain a ſhort ſpeech from the Hermit—"the Hermitt's fyrſt ſpeach"—which ſeems to be a reply to it. It is poſſible that the beginning has been loſt, as any number of ſheets may have dropped out at this place, without leaving any evidence of the fact. The other differences are not material, though here and there a better reading is ſuggeſted.

11. *For the Earle of Suſſex at ye tilt an:* 96.

This is a ſpeech made to be ſpoken at one of theſe Court triumphs, and is written in the artificial ſtyle which it was the faſhion to affect in them; which makes it the more difficult to ſupply the loſt words; but it is addreſſed to the Queen and meant apparently to convey an apology for the abſence of the Earl of Eſſex, who was very likely keeping aloof in one of his fits of diſcontent.

12. A letter without any heading or ſignature, but a very good copy (much better than that printed in the Cabala, which is full of blunders) of the letter to Elizabeth, diſſuading her from marrying the Duke of Anjou, and commonly attributed to Sir Philip Sidney.

13. A copy, imperfect both at the beginning and the end, of the well-known tract called *Leiceſter's*

Commonwealth. It begins with the words "A third reaſon of this manner of this Lady's death may be," &c.; and ends in the middle of the paragraph relating to the daughters of John of Gaunt.

This brings us to the end of the volume; the laſt leaf being part of the outſide ſheet, which appears to have been the only cover the volume ever had, and of which the other half forms the title-page, here given in *facſimile.* This leaf has ſuffered from fire like the reſt. But before that, it had had the ill luck to be ſo uſed by ſome idle penman, either for trial of his pens, or for experiments in handwriting, or for mere relief from idleneſs, that it is difficult to make out what its proper contents were. At the top, however,—diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by ink of the ſame colour with the earlier portions of the MS.,—may be clearly read the words which I have choſen for a title-page, viz.:

Mr. Frauncis Bacon
of tribute or giuing what is dew.
The praiſe of the worthieſt vertue.
The praiſe of the worthieſt affection.
The praiſe of the worthieſt power.
The praiſe of the worthieſt perſon.

And if a line be drawn down the page, ranging with theſe, and the interſtitial ſcribblings be overlooked, we may ſtill trace the following additional titles, written in order, below:

Earle of Arundell's letter to the Queen.
Speaches for my lord of Eſſex at the tilt.
A ſpeach for my lord of Suſſex tilt.
Leyceſter's commonwealth. Incerto auth[*ore*].
Orations at Graie's Inne revells.
. . . . . *Queene's Ma*^{t}*s* . . . . . .
By Mr. Frauncis Bacon.
Eſſaies by the ſame author.

Richard the ſecond.
Richard the third.
Aſmund and Cornelia.
Iſle of dogs fr (?),[1]
by Thomas Naſhe, inferior places.[2]

What follows is all ſcribbling; but at the *head* of this latter liſt two other titles ſeem to have been inſerted afterwards, and are imperfectly legible, viz.:

. . . *Phillip againſt Mounſieur.*
Pa . . . . . *revealed.*

This then I take to be all that the page originally contained, and to repreſent its proper buſineſs; the reſt being idleneſs. The principal difficulties which I find in it are, 1ſt, the abſence from the liſt of all alluſion to the *Advertiſement touching the controverſies of the Church of England*, which can never

[1] This is not a mutilated word, but I cannot make out the remaining letters. They look like *mn*^{t} or *um*^{t}.

[2] Mr. Aldis Wright ſuggeſts *and inferior plaiers.*

have been ſeparated from the volume, and has all the appearance of having been tranſcribed about the ſame time, and is too large a piece to have been overlooked; 2ndly, the abſence from the volume itſelf of all trace of the *Earl of Arundel's letter to the Queen*, which appears in the liſt; and, 3rdly, the miſplacing of the entry of Sir Philip Sidney's *Letter againſt Monſieur*, which ſtands higher in the liſt than it ſhould. All this however may be explained by a few ſuppoſitions, not in themſelves improbable; namely, that the tranſcriber of the firſt five pieces left his liſt of contents incomplete; that the tranſcriber who followed him ſet down the contents only of his own portion; that the firſt ſheet or two of his tranſcript has been loſt; and that Sidney's letter had been at firſt overlooked. I have already obſerved that the ſheet on which the fifth piece ends and what is now the ſixth begins, is the middle ſheet of the volume; and therefore if anything came between theſe two, it may have been taken out without leaving any traces of itſelf. I have noticed alſo that Sir Philip's letter has no heading, and may therefore have been eaſily overlooked. Now if we may ſuppoſe that the Earl of Arundel's letter, having been tranſcribed on a central ſheet, has dropped out, and that Sir Philip's having been overlooked, the title was entered afterwards in the place where there was moſt room, we ſhall find that the firſt four titles repreſent correctly the reſt of the contents of the volume. The *Speaches*

for my lord of Eſſex at the tilt are evidently the ſpeeches of the hermit, the ſoldier, the ſecretary, and the ſquire. The *ſpeach for my lord of Suſſex at the tilt* is the piece which ſtands next to them. And *Leyceſter's Commonwealth* fills up the remainder of the volume.

The titles which follow have nothing correſponding to them in this manuſcript, but probably indicate the contents of another of the ſame kind, once attached to this, and now loſt. If ſuch a one ſhould ever turn up, which is far from impoſſible, it will probably be found to contain

1ſt. The concluſion of *Leyceſter's commonwealth.*

2ndly. The ſpeeches of the ſix councillors to the Prince of Purpoole at the Gray's Inn revels in 1594, (ſee *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, vol. i. p. 332,) of which *Orations at Graie's Inne revells* would be a correct deſcription, and an independent manuſcript would be valuable; for the printed copy in *Geſta Grayorum* is full of errors.

3rdly. Something of Bacon's about the Queen, or addreſſed to her, the particulars of which I cannot make out.

4thly. A copy of *Bacon's Eſſays* in their earlieſt form; that is, as printed in 1597.

5thly. Copies of Shakeſpeare's plays of *Richard II.* and *Richard III.*

6thly. A piece called *Aſmund and Cornelia*, of which I cannot hear that anything is known.

7thly. A play called the *Ile of Dogs*, of which the induction and the firſt act were written by Thomas Naſhe, and the reſt by the players; but of which no copy has been found.

That "Richard the ſecond" and "Richard the third" are meant for the titles of *Shakeſpeare's* plays ſo named, I infer from the fact—of which the evidence may be ſeen in the *facſimile*—that, the liſt of contents being now complete, the writer (or more probably another into whoſe poſſeſſion the volume paſſed) has amuſed himſelf with writing down promiſcuouſly the names and phraſes that moſt ran in his head; and that among theſe the name of *William Shakeſpeare* was the moſt prominent, being written eight or nine times over for no other reaſon that can be diſcerned.[1] That the name of *Mr. Frauncis Bacon*, which is alſo repeated ſeveral times, ſhould have been uſed for the ſame kind of recreation requires no explanation; its poſition at the top of the page would naturally ſuggeſt it. In the upper corner, on the left hand, may be ſeen (as Mr. Aldis Wright has pointed out to me) the words *ne vile velis*, the motto of the Nevilles, twice repeated; and I think I ſee traces of the name Nevell. Other exerciſes of the ſame kind are merely repetitions of the titles which ſtand

[1] The firſt place in which the name occurs is in the ſpace between *Eſſaies by the ſame author* and *Richard the ſecond*. But it does not ſeem to have been written at the ſame time with the titles, or by the ſame hand.

oppoſite, or ordinary words of compliment, familiar in the beginnings and endings of letters; with here and there a ſcrap of verſe, ſuch as

> Revealing day through every cranie peepes,

or,

> Multis annis jam tranſactis
> Nulla fides eſt in pactis,
> Mell in ore, verba lactis;
> Fell in corde, fraus in factis.

And moſt of the reſt appear to be merely exerciſes in writing *th* or *ſh*. The facſimile repreſents the original very exactly in everything except the ſtains on the paper, and the curious reader can ſtudy for himſelf the hiſtory of the ſcribble. But the only thing, ſo far as I can ſee, which requires any particular notice, is the occurrence in this way of the name of *William Shakeſpeare;* and the value of that depends in a great degree upon the date of the writing; which I fear cannot be determined with any approach to exactneſs. All I can ſay is that I find nothing either in theſe later ſcribblings, or in what remains of the book itſelf, to indicate a date later than the reign of Elizabeth; and if ſo, it is probably one of the earlieſt evidences of the growth of Shakeſpeare's *perſonal* fame as a dramatic author; the beginning of which cannot be dated much earlier than 1598. It was not till 1597 that any of his plays appeared in print; and though the earlieſt editions of Richard II., Richard III., and Romeo and Juliet

all bear that date, his name is not on the title-page of any of them. They were ſet forth as plays which had been "lately," or "publicly," or "often with great applauſe," acted by the Lord Chamberlain's ſervants. Their title to favour was their popularity as acting plays at the Globe; and it was not till they came to be read as books that it occurred to people unconnected with the theatre to aſk who wrote them. It ſeems, however, that curioſity was ſpeedily and effectually excited by the publication; for in the very next year a ſecond edition of both the Richards appeared with the name of William Shakeſpeare on the title-page; and the practice was almoſt invariably followed by all publiſhers on like occaſions afterwards. We may conclude, therefore, that it was about 1597 that play-goers and readers of plays began to talk about him, and that his name would naturally preſent itſelf to an idle penman in want of ſomething to uſe his pen upon. What other inferences will be drawn from its appearance on the cover of this manuſcript by thoſe who ſtart with the conviction that Bacon and not Shakeſpeare was the real author of Richard II. and Richard III., I cannot ſay; but to myſelf the fact which I have mentioned ſeems quite ſufficient to account for the phenomenon. At the preſent time, if the waſte leaf on which a law-ſtationer's apprentice tries his pens were examined, I ſhould expect to find on it the name of the poet, noveliſt, dramatic author, or actor of the day, mixed with ſnatches of

the laſt new ſong, and ſcribblings of "My dear Sir," "Yours ſincerely," and "This Indenture witneſſeth." And this is exactly the ſort of thing which we have here. I think I am in a condition to aſſert that there is no trace of Bacon's own penmanſhip in any part of the volume; and the name of Shakeſpeare is ſpelt in every caſe as it was always *printed* in thoſe days, and not as he himſelf in any known caſe ever wrote it.

Of the hiſtory of the manuſcript all that is known was communicated to me by Mr. John Bruce, laſt Auguſt, and I give it in his own words.

"Up to about two years ago, there had remained at Northumberland Houſe, for a long time, two black boxes of conſiderable ſize, preſumed to contain papers, but nobody knew of the boxes having ever been opened, or could give any information reſpecting their hiſtory, or tell what kind of papers they contained. Theſe boxes were opened at the time I have indicated, and the contents, which turned out to be papers, as had been ſuppoſed, were taken out that I might inſpect them. I did ſo in the month of Auguſt, 1867. I found them to be of a very miſcellaneous character, many of them more or leſs connected with the hiſtory of the Percys, and others of a more general hiſtorical intereſt.

"Upon ſome of them were found notes in reference to their contents, written by the hand of Biſhop

Percy, the editor of the Reliques, who was domeſtic chaplain at Northumberland Houſe from about 1765 to 1782. He occupied apartments in the Houſe, and gave conſiderable attention to the old papers belonging to the family. It is probable that he looked through all the papers now under conſideration, and that it was under his direction that they were placed in the boxes alluded to.

"Among the papers taken out of theſe boxes I found the tranſcripts of the papers of Bacon. They formed part of a miſcellaneous collection, or unbound volume, of tranſcripts, containing among other things a copy of Leiceſter's Commonwealth and other pamphlets and documents relating to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Looking haſtily at the Bacon tranſcripts, I ſaw at once ſome matter which I recollected as already in print. Other parts of them ſeemed new to me. I mentioned this circumſtance at the time to ſome members of the family of the Duke of Northumberland, who took an intereſt in what I was about. I pointed it out as a ſubject for further inquiry, and at the ſame time directed attention to the oddity of the recurrence and combination of the names of Bacon and Shakeſpeare in the ſcribble on the fly-leaf of the MS.

"A good many of the papers taken out of the boxes had been ſubjected to the action of fire. Their edges were found burnt and ſinged in the ſame way as the Bacon tranſcripts. Among the papers thus damaged

was a collection of tranſcripts of accounts of public ceremonials, ſuch as royal marriages, funerals, and coronations. With this collection was found a paper on which was written, in a hand of the laſt century, perhaps that of Biſhop Percy, although larger than his ordinary hand, a memorandum that thoſe papers relating to ceremonials had been purchaſed at 'Anſtis's ſale,' which I underſtood to allude to the ſale of the MSS. of the two Garters Anſtis, the father and ſon, which took place in 1768.

"This memorandum ſeemed to point to the poſſibility that the Bacon tranſcripts might have come to Northumberland Houſe in the ſame manner as thoſe relating to ceremonials. I thought it right therefore to endeavour to inſpect a copy of the Anſtis ſale catalogue. For a conſiderable time I was unſucceſsful. There is no copy at the Britiſh Muſeum, nor at the Society of Antiquaries, nor in ſeveral other likely places. Ultimately one was found at the College of Arms. Unfortunately, like moſt of the ſale catalogues of that period, the lots are deſcribed in terms ſo general and unpreciſe that it is quite impoſſible to ſay what may not have been included under words ſo vague. Certainly the Bacon MS. is not directly mentioned. In a miſcellaneous collection of papers, thrown together into one lot, there is mention of a copy of his argument, *De rege inconſulto;* and in the courſe of the catalogue there are ſeveral copies of Leiceſter's Commonwealth, but

they do not occur in lots which can be identified with the MS. you are dealing with, but rather the contrary.

"What I have ſtated ſeems to lead to the concluſion that the papers were depoſited in boxes after 1768. That inference is ſtrengthened by the circumſtance that the Anſtis MS. is ſo much injured by fire that—its contents not being highly valuable—it is unlikely that it would have been bought for the Ducal library in its burnt condition. The ſame concluſion is rendered more probable by the circumſtance that there occurred a fire in Northumberland Houſe on the 18th of March 1780, which deſtroyed a very conſiderable part of the front towards Charing Croſs,[1] including the apartments occupied by Dr. Percy, then Dean of Carliſle. The Gent. Mag. of the day takes pains to inform its readers that 'the greateſt part of the Dean's invaluable library was fortunately preſerved.' It ſays nothing of any MSS. of the Duke's, but I think we may ſafely infer that in all probability this was the fire in which the Anſtis MSS., the Bacon tranſcript, and ſeveral other manuſcripts were injured; and if ſo, that they were not put into the black boxes until after March 1780.

"We may alſo I think find another limit. Dr. Percy was in 1782 appointed Biſhop of Dromore,

[1] Annual Regiſter for 1780, p. 202. Gent. Mag. for March, 1780, p. 151.

'where he continually reſided' (Nichols's Lit. Anecd. iii. 754) from his appointment to his death in 1811. The putting theſe papers into the boxes, which clearly took place after the fire in 1780, looks very like the act of Dr. Percy when taking leave of Northumberland Houſe and about to remove to Dromore.

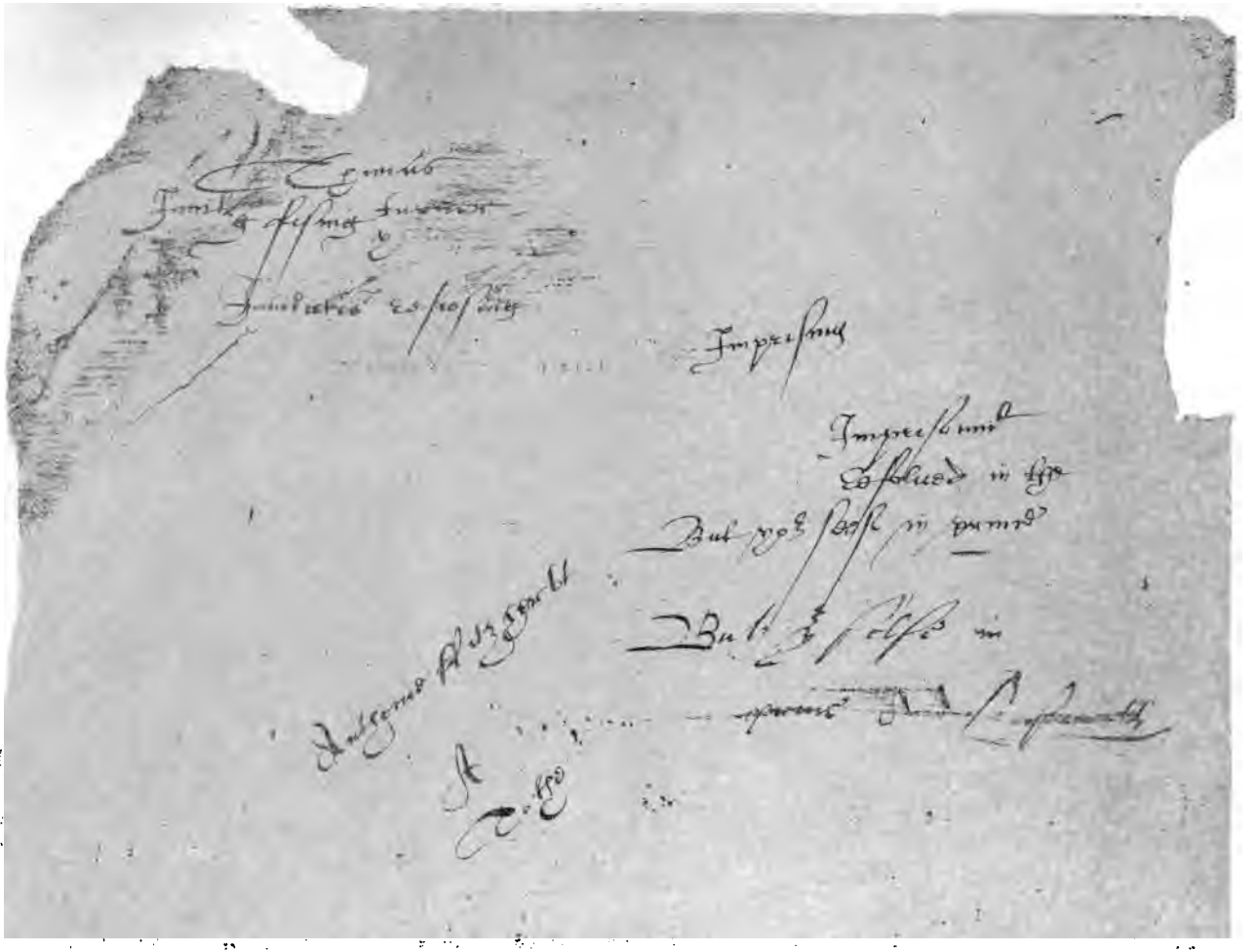
"From 1782 to 1867 the hiſtory of theſe papers is pretty clear; I will only add that nothing has been done with them ſince they were found, except that the burnt and ſinged edges have been carefully repaired by a truſtworthy perſon accuſtomed to that kind of work, and very ſkilful in it."[1]

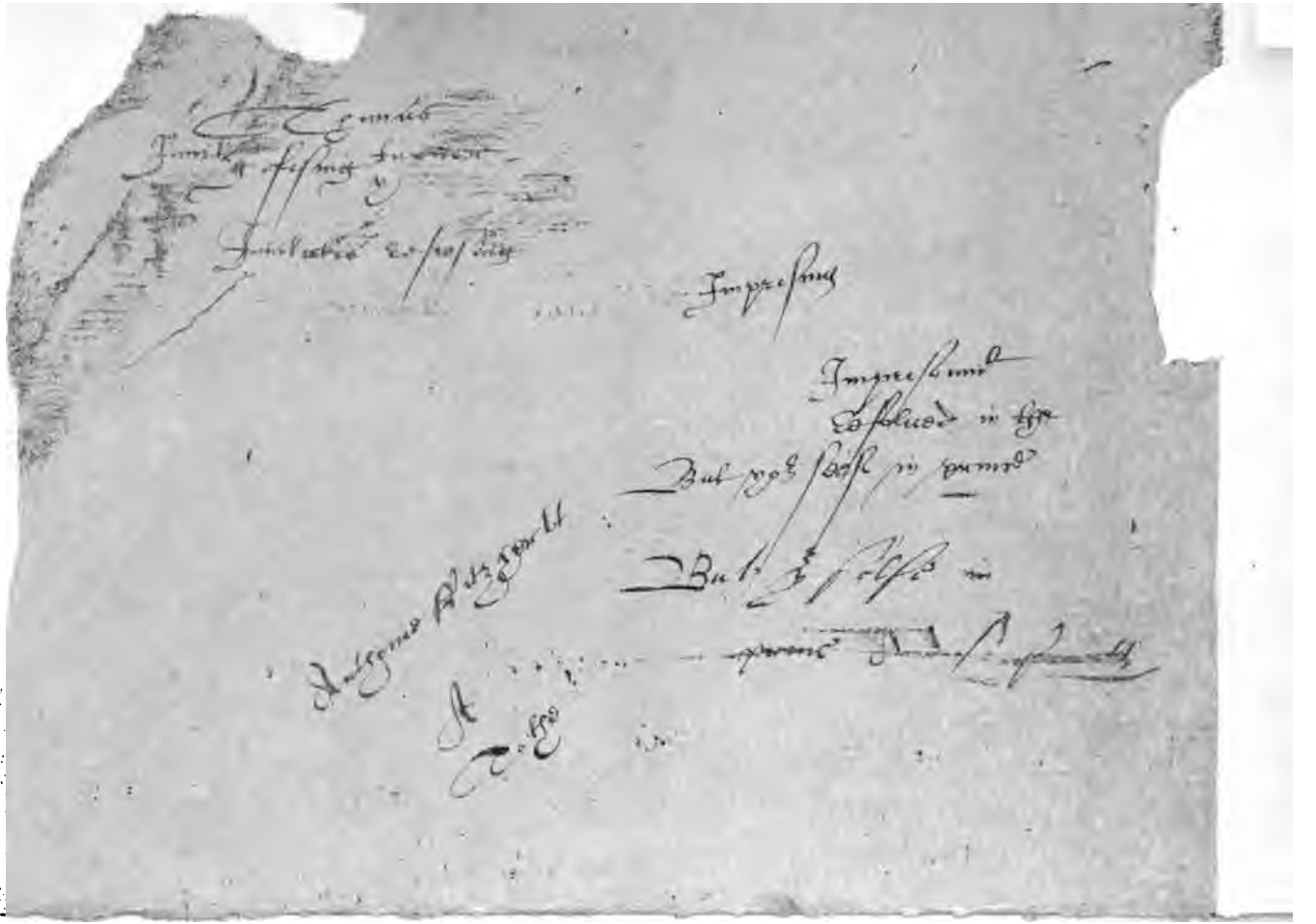
With regard to the portion of this manuſcript now printed, I may obſerve that though the firſt ten pages contain all that is abſolutely new, its full value would not have been realiſed without an exhibition of the whole together, for thoſe parts which have hitherto been read ſeparately as ſubſtantive compoſitions will be found to acquire ſomething of a new character from the context. If "To be or not to be," or "All the world's a ſtage," had been found among Shakeſpeare's papers and publiſhed as lines of his own, anybody can underſtand what a different effect they would have had, and how unexpected an aſpect of Shakeſpeare's mind they would have ſeemed to reveal. In a leſs degree, but in the ſame way, an oration in praiſe

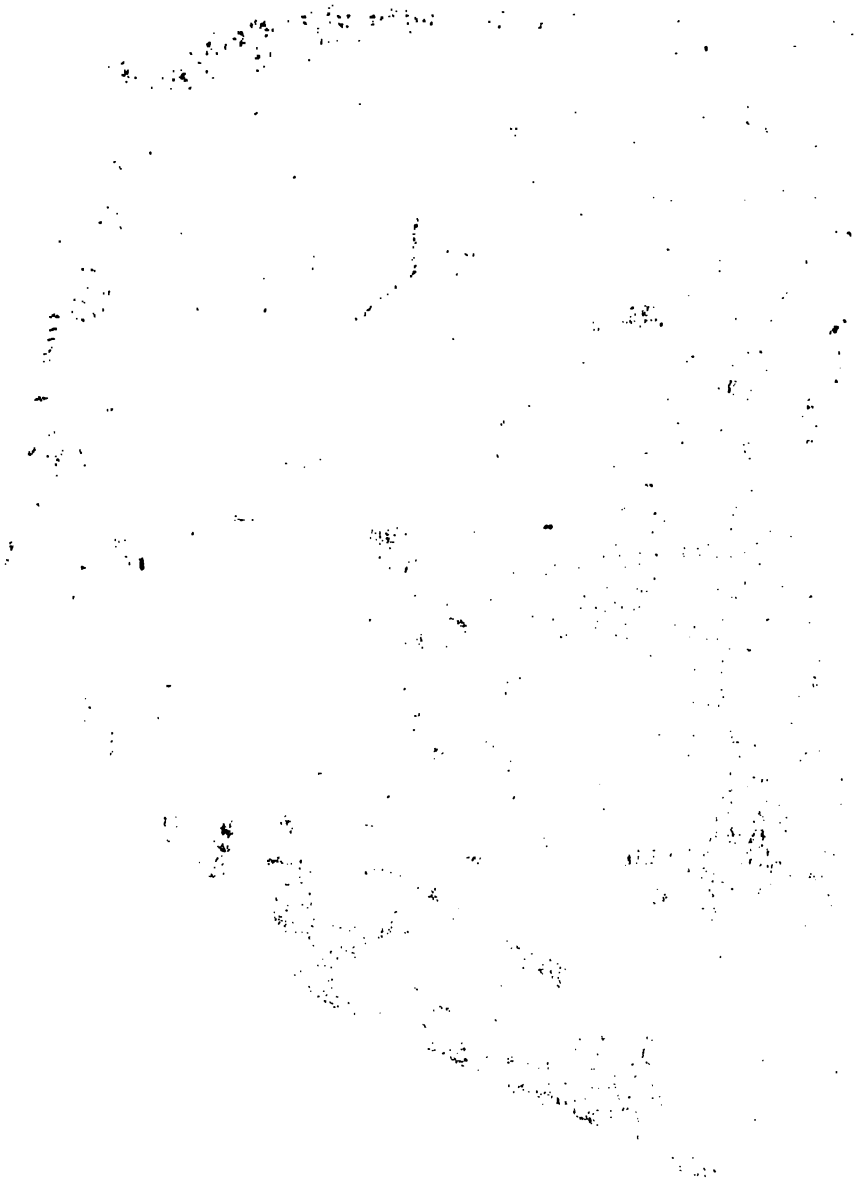
[1] From a letter to me, dated 14th Auguſt 1869.

of knowledge or of the Queen, is one thing if ſpoken in a man's own perſon, another if only invented by him as part of a dramatic entertainment. And though I do not know that either of theſe contain anything which Bacon would not have been himſelf prepared to ſtand by and maintain in earneſt, yet in a caſe where the buſineſs is amuſement and the occaſion a compliment, the liberties of rhetoric cannot be denied to what is in fact a rhetorical exhibition. Now among the exerciſes preſcribed for the rhetorician, is one of which all theſe orations afford ſome example. In treating of the *Deſiderata* in that art (*De Aug. Scient.* lib. VI.), Bacon approves of Cicero's recommendation that the forenſic orator ſhould provide himſelf with common-places, in which all queſtions of ordinary occurrence ſhould be argued and handled on either ſide; but deſires to extend it to other departments of oratory. "I would have all topics," he ſays, "which there is frequent occaſion to handle (whether they relate to proofs and refutations, or to perſuaſions and diſſuaſions, or to praiſe and blame) ſtudied and prepared beforehand; and not only ſo, but the caſe exaggerated both ways with the utmoſt force of the wit, and urged unfairly, as it were, and quite beyond the truth" (*eoſque ultimis ingenii viribus, et tanquam improbe, et prorſus præter veritatem, attolli et deprimi*). It was as an eſſay towards the ſupply of this deficiency that he drew up his *Antitheta Rerum;* in which the

arguments both for and againſt, on a variety of topics, are packed into ſhort and ſharp ſentences, "to be as ſkeins or bottoms of thread, to be unwinded at large when they come to be uſed." But they are for the uſe of the advocate, not of the judge: and theſe rival orations of A, B, C, and D are in like manner to be regarded as ingenious pleadings—exerciſes in the art of making the beſt or the worſt of a thing—not neceſſarily expreſſions of Bacon's perſonal opinion or ultimate judgment, ſuch as we have it in the "Eſſays," the "Obſervations on a Libel," the diſcourſe on the "Felicities of Elizabeth," and other places where he ſpeaks in his own perſon.







MR. FRAUNCIS BACON

OF TRIBUTE, OR GIVING WHAT IS DEW.

The praiſe of the worthieſt vertue.

The praiſe of the worthieſt affection.

The praiſe of the worthieſt power.

The praiſe of the worthieſt perſon.

Mr ffr: Bacon of tribute
or giuing that w^ch is due.

1. *the praiſe of the worthieſt vertue.*
2. *the praiſe of the worthieſt affec̃on.*
3. *the praiſe of the worthieſt power.*
4. *the praiſe of the worthieſt perſon.*

A	C
1	3
B	D
2	4

A. Since we are mett lett me gouerne our leyſure. B. C. D: Com̃a[unde. A. Let euerie man do honor to that w^ch he eſtemeth moſt and c[an moſt worthilie praiſe. B. O vaine motion and ignorance of times! Are not ſa[tires of more price then himnes? A. Obey.

The praiſe of ffortitude.

My praiſe ſhalbe dedicated to the nobleſt of the vertues. Pr[udence to diſcerne betweene good and euill. Juſtice to ſtande indifferent [betweene ſelfe-loue and ſocietie. Temperance to deuide aright betweene [deſire & reaſon. Theiſe be good innocent thinge. Butt the vertue of a[ction, the vertue of reſolu̅c̃on, the vertue of effect, is ffortitude. Preſ[ent unto a man largelie endued w^th prudence the tempeſt of a ſo[ddaine and greate daunger, and lett ffortitude abſent her ſelfe; wh[at uſe hath he of his wiſedome? hath he the power eyther to beholde the [daunger or to entende the remedye? or rather doth not the firſt im[preſſion diſable him to take a true viewe of the pill, and the appreh[enſion of the pill ſo attache and ſeaze his ſences that he cannott in[vent meanes for his deliueraunce? Where be the goodlie groundes of rea[ſon, the obſer-uac̃c̃ons of experience, rules, preceptes, and cautions, [uppon which he was wont at leyſure to conſider, compare, and conclud[e? His ordered and digeſted thoughts are confounded: their printes are defaced. A [ſoddaine cry and alarme of perill hath, as *Berecinthia's* horne, drowne[d all their ſweete muſicke, or elſe a blaſt of winde diſordered Sibilla's le[aues. His very wiſedome is the firſt thing that flies. His ſpiritte tha[t ſate together in councell in his braine are gone to ſuccor his h[eart: and therewith he is] lefte abandoned to his perills by the treaſon of [his judgement.

his wiſedome could haue tould him h
in the face while he conſid

good entertaynmentꝭ to perſwade men of the ſtrength of their [under-ſtandings], but deceiptfull in the execuc̃on and triall. What price then or regard can wiſedome carrie, wᶜʰ tyreth a mans thoughtꝭ wᵗʰ forecaſting and providing for perills wᶜʰ neuer come as if it could imbrace all accidentꝭ, but when daunger commeth unexpected it leaueth a man in pray to his adventurs? But now lett Prudence, this weake ladie, rauiſhed by euerie inuaſion and aſſault of ſoddaine daunger, obtaine for her champion and knight fortitude, and then ſee how ſhe entertayneth the challenges of fortune. Doth a man flie before he knoweth? or ſuffer before he feeleth? Noe: but ſtraightwaies the diſcouerie of the perrill maketh a man more then himſelf. It awaketh his ſences. It quickeneth his mociõs. It redoubleth his forces. He looketh thorough & thorough yᵗ ꝑill. He taketh hold of euerie light of remedie. He diſcerneth wᵗ muſt be concluded, wᵗ may be differred. He ceaſeth not to device for yᵉ reſt while he executeth that wᶜʰ is inſtant, nor to execute yᵉ preſent while he deuiſeth for yᵗ to come. But he is allwaies in his owne power, reioycing in the proofe of himſelf and well-coming neceſſitie. Thus is ffortitude the marſhall of thoughtꝭ, the armor of the will, & the fort of reaſon. Lett us turne oʳ conſiderac̃on & behold Juſtice, the ſacred vertue, yᵉ vertue of refuge, the vertue of Societie. Doth not ſhe alſo ſhrowde herſelf under the ꝓtecc̃on of ffortitude? Lett a man be abſtinent from wrong, exact in duetie, gratefull in obligac̃on, & yet diſmantled & open to feare or dolor, what will enſue? Will not the menace of a tirant make him condemne yᵉ innoce[nt? will not the ſence of torture make him appeale his dear[eſt frends and that untrulie? But paine hath taught him [a new philoſophie. He begñneth to be perſwaded yᵗ it is Juſtice [to pay tribute to nature, to yelde to the rigor of paine, to be [merciful to himſelfe. He would giue others leaue to doe the like by [him: he would forgiue them if they did. So that now his ba[llance, where-wᵗʰ he was wont to weigh out euerie man h[is own, is fallen out of his handes. He is at yᵉ devocion of the mig[htieſt. His wiſdom remayneth wᵗʰ him but as a furie to upbr[aid his weakeneſse and increa]ſe his torment. As for Temper[ance

m]agnanimitie and what ſhall

you cannot ſubmitt yo^{r} ſelfe to the condicions of obtay[ning thereof, and therfor fall to deſpiſe. Will you affect to be admirab[le? Will you neither followe others nor ſpare your ſelfe? Will you [make yo^{r} life nothing but an occaſion and cenſure of others? Oh but [I mean no ſuch matter: no vain glorie: no malignitie: no diffidence: [no cenſure. I deſire but a releaſe from perturbations. I ſeeke b[ut an euen tenor of minde. I will not uſe becauſe I will not deſir[e. I will not deſire becauſe I will not feare to want. Loe we ſee a[ll theſe circumſtances, all this p̄paracc̄on, is but to keepe afarr of f[eare and griefe, w^{ch} ffortitude reioyceth to challenge & to chaſe: bu[t when once a feare & greife commeth, ſuch as all men are ſubiect [unto, if it be a feare & greife w^{ch} ariſeth not of y^{e} deſtitucc̄on of a pl[eaſure but y^{e} acceſſe of a disfortune, then what uſe hath he of his temp[erance? Will he not then eſteeme it a great follie y^{t} he hath p̄vided a[gainſt heat of ſunſhine & not of fyre? doth he not take it for a mad[neſs to think if a man could make himſelf impaſſible of pleaſure, he ſh[ould make himſelf at one labor impaſſible of paine? wheras contrariwi[ſe it is an introducc̄on to beare ſtronger greifes, to deſire often wth [out hauing. But lett ffortitude and ſtrength of minde aſſiſt Temperance[,and ſee what followeth then? a man is able to uſe pleaſures & to ſpa[re them; to containe himſelfe in the entry or greateſt downfall an[d to entertaine himſelf euer in pleaſure; hauing in proſperitie ſe[nce of joy, & in adverſitie ſence of ſtrength. Therefor it is ffortitude [that muſt help or conſum̃ate or enable all vertues. Of Pleaſure no[w lett us inquire, w^{ch} being limitted and goũẽd, no ſe^{p}̄itie of conceipt [nor harſhnes of language ſhall make, but it is the bleſſing of nat[ure, the true marriage of the ſences, the feaſt and holliday of this o^{r} [work-day and unquiett life, onelie lett men diſcerne the p̄ſent ſign[al and want of nature from the bayte of affecc̄on, lett them diſcerne [that which is pleaſant in the ſom̃e & totall from that w^{ch} is pleaſant [at y^{e} moment. N]ow what true and ſollide pleaſure can there b[e where feare is? Mark] I pray you w^{t} ſporte feare maketh wth y^{e} t

f his pleaſures & deſires. hope he

and fruition of his pleaſure, then he is in a maze: he is as deare yt come unto an unwonted good paſture, and ſtand at a gaze, & ſcantlye feede; ſo he euer imagineth ſome ill is hid in euerie good: ſo as his pleaſures be as ſolid as the ſandes, being corrupted wth continuall feares and doubtes; and when the pleaſure is paſt then he thinketh it a dreame, a ſurfait of deſire, a falſe ioye: he is ungratefull to nature: for ſtill the ſence of greife printeth ſo deepe and the ſence of delight [ſo lightlie, as the one ſeemeth unto him a truth, the other a deceipt. Judge then how natiue and perfect pleaſures are to him to whom expectacõn is a racke, enioyeng is an amazement, remembrance is a diſtaſt & bitternes. Againe wt doth ſomuch encreaſe and enrich all pleaſures as noveltie? but it is a rule that to a fearfull man whatſoeuer is new is ſuſpect: ſo as that wch [ſhould] ſeaſon and enrich pleaſures, doth taint and embaſe them. But now lett us take breath awhile, and looke about if we can ſee any thing elſe good in nature. Vertue the perfecõn of nature, pleaſure the fruit of nature, is there any thing elſe? o beautie the ornament of nature. I cannot ſay that ffortitude will make a crooked man ſtraight, nor a fowle perſon faire. But this I may ſay, yt feare is the mother of deformitie, and yt I neuer ſaw a man comelie in feare. So it is ffortitude that giueth a grace, a maieſtie, a beautie to all acõns. But whie doe we ſtaie ſo long upon the merritt of ffortitude in ſhewing how it is a protector and benefactor to all yt is good, and do not haſten to ye conqueſts & victories thereof? Have we not donne well, becauſe its more meritorious to ſuccor then to ſubdue, and more excellent [to compound ciuill diſſenſions then to defeate forraigne enemies[? And therfor now we haue ſhewed how ffortitude maketh ye minde b[ring ye workes and acõns of vertue to the taſt and fruition of pleaſur[e, it is time to ſett forth what it can doe againſt thoſe extreame thing[s called euills. theiſe euills, lett them be muſtered. Are they paine of bodie? g[riefe of minde? ſlaunder of name? ſcarſitie of meanes? ſolitude of frendes[? feare of death? Whie none of theiſe are ill wth ffortitude, wch can bea[re pain of bodie wthout violating the repoſe of our mindes in themſelves or om[itting our care for others. It conditeth them: it taketh away their vene[mous qualitie: it reconcileth them to nature. lett no man quarr[ell with the decree of prouidence wch hath included in euerie ill
ſtu]pefacõn of ye part and the weak
apprehenſion and

but it is feare and impatience that are the ſergeantꝭ of for[tune and do arreſt and ſubdue us to thoſe things, being otherwiſe freemen: ſo as [that w^h doth drawe from men lamentac̃ons, outcries, exceſs of greife, it is [not y^e outward enemie, but the inward traitor. Nothing is to be feared but feare [itſelf. Nothing greivous but to yelde to greife. ffor lett us remember how m[en endued w^th this vertue ffortitude haue entertayned death, the mightieſt of [all enemies. Conſider whether it wrought any alterac̃on in them; whether it h[ath trobled and putt out of frame their ordinarie faſhions and behauiours. [I do wonder at the Stoickes, that accompted themſelves to hold the maſculi[ne vertues, eſteeming others ſectes delicate tender and effeminate, w^t they [ſh^d ſoe urge and adviſe men to the medita c̃on of death. Was not this to incr[eaſe y^e feare of death, w^ch they profeſſed to aſſuage? Muſt it not be a terribl[e foe againſt whom there is no ende of prepara c̃on? Ought they not to haue [taught men to die as if they had liued, and not to liue as though they continua[llie ſh^d die? More manfullie thought the voluptuous ſecte that counted it as [one of y^e ordinarie workes of nature. But to returne: letts leade about our [conſidera c̃on to take veiwe of thoſe w^ch haue ben men of knowen valewe and [courage, and ſee whether death preſented hath ſomuch as untuned their ordi[nary faſhion of conceipte and cuſtome. *Julius Cæſar*, the worthieſt man th[at euer liued, the brauest ſouldier, a man of the greateſt honor, and one that h[ad the moſt reall and effectuall eloquence that euer man had; not a ſounding [and flowing eloquence for a continuate ſpeach, but an eloquence of ac c̃on, [an eloquence of affaires, an eloquence that had ſuppreſſed a great mutinye [with a ſingle word (*Quirites*), an eloquence to imprint and worke upon any [man y^t w^ch he ſpake. See now whether he varied from himſelf at his death. The [firſt wounde that was giuen him on the necke by *Caſca*, that ſtoode behind his [chaire, he turned about and caught hold of his arme: *traitor Caſca wha[t doeſt thou?* the wordes were but plaine, but yett w^t could upon ſtudie ha[ue been ſaid more apt to daunte the conſpirator and to incite ſuccors? Should [he implore helpe? he would rather haue loſt a thouſand liues. Should he h[aue cried out? that had ben alſo an imploring of aide. Should he haue ſaid *wh[in the temple of the gods?* it was not decent for Cæſar to cl[aime for himſelf y^t his perſon was more venerable then the place. Therfor he [choſe a word y^t was as effectual to invite ſuccors but yett retainde y^e mai[eſtie of Cæſar. He added *Caſca*. He was nothing aſtoniſhed: he ſingled him out [at once. Who knoweth not, that is any thing ſkillfull in the weight and [effect of words, that] compellation by name giueth as it were a po[int

and penetrate and what

ſelfe thou and thy complices. Well, they came about him being unarmed, and as a ſtagg at bay yett he neuer ceaſed to putt himſelf in defence ympoining of their weapons and all the meanes of an unarmed man. A forme excellentlie well becomming a militarie man, thoughe he knew it would not helpe. At laſt when Marcus Brutus gaue him a wounde, (*and thou my ſonne*). Noble Cæſar, he had no weapon to wounde Brutus againe, but this word wounded, this word perced him, this word enchanted him, this worde made him euer diſpaire of a finall good ſucceſſe of the warr, although the cauſe were iuſt and his proceeding at the firſt proſperous. This word inſpired him once at his birthday, when his affaires ſtoode in moſt proſperous termes, to breake out cauſeles into this verſe: *at me ſors miſera et Latonæ perdidit infans.* This word turned it ſelf afterwardes into the likenes of an ill ſpirritt that appeared unto him in his tent. In the ende when his ſtrength failed him, yett he tooke an honorable regard to fall in comelie manner, and couered after the manner of the apparell of that tyme. So as that complement, that point of honor, w^{ch} it had ben much for a ladie to have remembred, unto whom modeſtie and honor of ꝑſon were *ſummũ bonũ*, ſo great a monarch, ſo great a captaine, in ſo ſtrong and violent an aſſault, forgott not at the pointe of death. *Auguſtus Cæſar* his nephew, a man nothing of that ſtrength and corrage, but of greate aſſurance and ſerenitie of mynd, he that by the caulm̃es and repoſe of his countenance had appalled a barbarous conſpirator, he that would euer wiſhe himſelf *Euthanaſiam*; in ſumme, a daintie and a fine man; was he not the ſame man at his ende? *Liuia beare in mind our marriadg, liue and farewell*, a farewell at length for a large abſence. *Veſpaſian*, a man exceedinglie giuen to the humor of dicacitie and ieſting, his laſt words were, if I be not much deceyued I am upon the point to be made a god: ſcof[fing at death, at himſelf, and at the times. *Seuerus* (*Septimius* I me[ane) a man of infinite purſuite of accion and diſpatch (*if there be any*[*thing for me to doe*) and further he could not goe. The like wordes he [would haue uſed if he had ben but going to ſleepe. Socrates, that w[ould neuer affirme any thing, in his laſt wordes to the iudges ſaid (*It* [*is now time to conclude, that I may be diſmiſſed to dye and you tu liue. but* [*wh*^{r} *for the beſt knowes Jupiter*). He lefte not his Ironye, for himſe[lf had told his opinion to his frendes before. So the Romaine delyghted ſo much in the inquiſition of the truth

by c̃omaundment of Caius Cali[gula

t to perſon and diſ

So that by all theſe examples it appeareth, how ffortit[ude doth arme men's mynds in ſuch ſort that euerye ſtrict habitt or faſhion [is ſtronger than feare of death or ſence of his approches. Neyther will I ſom [uch diſparage the praiſe of this noble vertue ffortitude, that I make it the [glorie and the principall coate of honor thereof to ou̇come the feare of death[: ſeeing that barbarous cuſtomes, falſe ſuperſtitions, violent paſſions, are a[ble to do as much. But all theſe doe it as madnes ſometimes doth it; th[ey expell one Tirant by another; but they leaue not the minde in entire [poſſeſſion. y[t] is the onelie worke of ffortitude: other vertues deliuer us fr[om y[e] rule of vices, but ffortitude alone deliuereth us from the ſervitude [of fortune.

A. Your ſpeache were able to warme the harte of a coward: for eyther it [w[d] put courage into him, or elſe yf nothing could prevaile w[th] him but feare, yett it [w[d] make him more afraid of feare it ſelfe then of any perill. C. he deſerueth to be[ſpeach. A. Letts heare what you will deſerue.

The praiſe of Loue.

My praiſe ſhalbe dedicated to the happieſt ſtate of the minde; to [the eleuac̃on of mynde to the nobleſt affecc̃on. The vertues are m[oderators: they are lawes of the mynde; they reſtraine it, they limitt it, they [gouern it, they amplifie it not. They are as the mill when it is ſett uppon a ry[ch ſtone: heere it grindeth out a race & there a graine, to make it weare m[ore faire: but in the meane while the ſtone looſeth caraques, leaſeth ſubſtan[ce. So w[th] y[e] vertues; they pollyſhe the mynde, they make it w[th]out blemiſhe, they[giue it excellent forme; but commonly they take of much of the naturall [vigour: They be the affeccions w[ch] make the mynde heroicall, that giues [it power to exceede it ſelfe, and to faſtinate and binde others. Doe we not [ſee that no agilitie of bodie, no ſleight nor practize, can bring a man to doe [that w[h] ſometimes feare or fury makes him doe? In the melting of an h[orſe-ſhoe can a mightie dead fyre doe as much as a ſmall fyre blowne? I[n ſhaping metalls, can a mightie huge weight doe as much as the blowe of [a hammer? It is motion therfor that animateth all thinge: it is vaine to think [that any ſtrength of nature can counteruaile a violent moc̃on. The affe[cc̃ons are the motions of the minde: the vertues pray in ayde of the affecc̃o[ns. Fearing and wondering is the life of prudence. Modeſtie is the life o[f temperance. Indignac̃on the life of ffortitude. All vertues take meaſ

power and ſtrength from the affecc̃ons. Therfor

happines and height of mynde. but

ert the true ſteppes of

for as for the other affecc̃ons they be but ſufferinges of nature: they ſeeke rannſomes and reſcues from that w^ch is evill, not enioyeng an union w^th that w^ch is good: they ſeeke to expell that w^ch is contrarie, not to attract that w^ch is agreeable. Feare and greife, the traitors of nature; baſhfullnes, a thraldom to euerie man's conceipt and countenance; pittie, a confederacie w^th y^e miſerable; deſire of reuenge, the ſupplieng of a wounde; all theiſe they endevor to keepe the maine ſtocke of nature, to preſerue her from loſſe & diminuc̃on; but loue is a pure gaine and advancem^t in nature; it is not a good by compariſon, but a true good; it is not an eaſe of payne, but a true purchaſe of pleaſures; and therfor when our mindes are ſoundeſt, when they are not as it were in ſicknes and therfor out of taſt, but when we be in proſperitie, when we want no thing, then is the ſeaſon the opportunitie and the ſpring of loue: and as it ſpringeth not out of ill, ſo is it not entermixt w^th ill: it is not like the vertues w^ch by a ſteepe and cragged way conduct us to a plaine, and are hard taſke-m^rs at firſt, and after giue an honorable hyre; but the firſt aſpect of loue and all that followeth is gracious and pleaſant. And now to you ſir that ſomuch commende vertue ffortitude, and therein cheiflie commended it becauſe it doth enffranchiſe us from the tirannyes of fortune, yett doth it not in ſuch perfecc̃on as doth loue. For ffortitude indeede ſtrengtheneth y^e mynd, but it giueth it no feeling, it leaueth it emptye, it miniſtreth unto it no apt contemplac̃on to fix it ſelf uppon that it may the more eaſilie be directed from the ſence of dolours, and thats the reaſons w^ch you would in no wiſe admitt to be competitors w^th ffortitude in this honor (as barbarous cuſtomes and falſe ſuperſtitions do this notw^thſtanding more eaſilie and effectuallie then that vertue. Butt loue doth ſo fill and poſſeſſe all the powers of the minde as it ſweetneth the harſhnes of all deformities. Lett no man feare y^e yoke of fortune that's in the yoke of loue. W^t fortune can be ſuch a He[rcules as ſhalbe able to ouercome two? When two ſoules are ioynd in one, wh[en one hath another to devide his ffortune w^th all, no force can depreſs[e him. Therfor ſince loue hath not her ſeate in ill as haue other affecc̃ons; ſince [it hath no part in ill as vertue hath the beginnyng; ſynce it admitteth n[o ſenſe of ill and therin excelleth ffortitude; now lett us ſee whether it [be not as rych in good as exempt in ill. Now therfor will I teache louers to [loue, y^t haue all this while loued by roate. I will giue them the Alphabet [of loue. I will ſhew them how it is ſpelled. For this is a principle y^e nature [of man is compound and full of multiplicitye. ſo as it is not ſomuch any ſimple pleaſure that affecteth as the co

ffirme then and that trulie (that it

verie generallie in peregrinac̃ons to ſtraunge countries, [in doing unwonted accions, liſtening after newes, gaines of chaunce, w[ith the like particulers. This delight doth alſo winde it ſelfe like a [ſerpent into their affeccons, in ſuch ſorte as few delights have grace lon[g, unleſs this commendeth them to the apprehenc̃on. Now therfor loue is [a fountain of curioſitie, a moſt ſweet grounde ſett w^h infinite changes, a [journey of ſtrangeſt and moſt various adventurers. I demaund in loue w^t [are all theſe mutacons by abſences, theiſe redintegrac̃ons by unkindneſſes, t[heſe ſurpriſes by alterac̃on of attyre and change of preſences, but aṣ it w[ere changes upponthisſtopp? But aboue all others newe merritt and dem[aund on affection is the gratefulleſt noueltie: and it is not onelie the va[riety of y^e knowledge that pleaſeth, but the certaintie. For aſſuredlie no p[erſon ever ſaw at any time the minde of another but in loue. Loue is the one[ly paſſion y^t opens the harte. So as wee ſee w^t rich tribute curioſitie and deſ[ire of noueltie pay unto loue: being indeed, if not the hyeſt, yett the ſwee[teſt affec-c̃on of all others. Now turne we o^r veiw uppon ambition; an aff[ec̃on potent and generall. Dioniſius, when he was chaſed from his tiran[nie, became a Pedantius: a child will lord it ouer his dog and bird: is not [ambition ſo mightie as it infecteth the ſence? haue we not heard of *ambit[ioſæ cœnæ*,] when men deſire not the meate of the beſt taſt but y^t w^ch is de[areſt to buy or hardly procured; not unlike the receipt *Aurum potabile?* Con[trariwiſe is not loue a gaole of ambition, a perfec̃on of commaundm^t, inclu[ding not onelie the commandm^t of the perſon but of the will? Do we not ſ[ee y^t in populer ſtates ambition is moſt ſweet, becauſe honor is more vo[luntarie? Do we not obſerue how the *Hereſiarchæ* and beginners of ſectes, m[aking it their *ſummũ bonũ* to raigne in mens myndes, are therfor iuſtlie ca[lled *ſtupratores mentium*, the deflowrers of underſtandinḡ? So that as it is [y^e diſeaſe of ſuch extrauagant and ſtraung ſpirritt̄ to ſeeke a coñaunde[ment ouer reaſons & beleefes, ſo it is naturall in man to aſpire to coñaund[em^t of minds and eſpeciallie of affec̃ons and willes. Another delight miniſtr[ed unto the nature of man by this condic̃on is to haue ſuch as may be com[panions unto him. Many are the greifes and diſeaſes wherto mens ſtates are [ſubject; the verie repreſentac̃on of them by foreſight doth diſrelli[ſh their preſent proſperities. But then when one forſeeth w^th all that to his m[anie griefes cannot be added ſollitude, but that he ſhall haue a partner [to beare y^m, this quieteth the mind. A further inward and deepe affec̃on [proper to y^e mind of m]an, is the continewing and if it myght be the perpet[uation of his ſtocke, being] the common and naturall deſire of children

favorites and co

taking a hie and comfortable impreſſion of a mans ſelf from the admiracõn and enderred eſtimation of others. Was not flatterie euer in grace? but there is no flatterie like to that of a louer. One ſaid well that a man's ſelfe was the Archflatterer, but he ſhould haue excepted his louer: for the proudeſt man that euer was neuer thought ſo well of him as the louer thinketh of the perſon loved. Conſider againe the delighte of concurrence in deſire w^th^out emulation. If two be but ſett at one game they loue, or labor togeath^r^ in ſome one worke or invention, marke how well pleaſed, how well diſpoſed, how contented they be. So then if mindes are ſharpened againſt mindes, as Iron is againſt Iron, in euerie accõn, what ſhall we thinke of that union & coniuncõn of mindes w^ch^ loue worketh? W^t^ vigor, what alacritie, muſt it giue. Behold further the nature of the minde of man. It is everie man's obſervacõn y^t^ remiſſion and relaxacõn of minde is a moſt neceſſarie part of life. It is noted alſo that abſolute Idlenes and leyſure when the mind is altogeather w^th^out obiect is but languiſhing and wearines. How precious then is loue w^ch^ is the ſweeteſt repoſe from travailes and affaires, and the ſweeteſt imploym^t^ in leyſure & Idlenes. So as in one reſpect it is like the earth *Anteus*, in the other it is like *Penelopes* webb w^ch^ entertaineth time and putteth of expectacõn. For it is not an ill commendation to ſay y^t^ loue is an idle mans occupation: but it catcheth the buſieſt. Can a tirant be idle the firſt yeare of his uſurpacõn? See *Appius & Virginia*. Could the ſtate and enleagued enemie of Octauius Cæſar want w^t^ to thinke? See *Antonie* and *Cleopatra*. So it is not the fruite of idlenes but the remedie. Laſtly to leaue where loue beginneth, who diſcerneth not y^t^ y^e^ eye is the moſt affecting ſence? They be tales y^e^ ꝓpoſicõns to the contrarie. The humor of melancholie importuneth thoſe y^t^ are oũcome w^th^ it w^th^ the memorie of the moſt affecting diſlike. Conferr w^th^ one that is entering to be mellancholie; ſhall you heare him complayne of harſh ſoundes or odious ſauors repreſented to his imagination repreſented to his imagination? Noe, but allwaies meditating of fearefull and diſliking formes. Who denieth but the eye is firſt contented in loue, being fed and feaſted by fre[ſh ꝓportionable ſhapes and decent mocõns? Therfor if all delight^e^ of ſence aff[ect loue, if y^e^ underſtanding be tributarie to loue, if loue offereth the ſweeteſt con[tentment to him that deſireth to know, the exacteſt commaundm^t^ to him that [deſireth to rule, the comfortableſt promiſe to him that looketh into his fortune, [the ſureſt hope to him that ſeeketh to ſuruiue himſelf, the moſt flattering glaſſe to [him that loueth to veiw him ſelf w^th^ aduantage, the greateſt union of minde to him y^t^ [deſireth y^e^ moſt refreſhing repoſe from accõn, the moſt acceptable entertayn[m^t^ to him y^t^ w^d^ offery^e^ moſt pleaſing obiect to the moſt imprinting ſence: Lett us m[ake our ſuit to loue, that gathereth the beames of ſo many pleaſures into
flame the ſowle, and letts conclude that the

A. *I was thinking what you did deſerue; and hearing you ſpeake ſo [wiſelie of loue y^t is of y^t nature as a man cannot well tell who ſhould knowe it [beſt, he y^t hath tryed it or he that hath not tryed it, I thought you deſerued a pat[ent that hath ben graunted but ſeldome, and that is Amare et ſapere. he had re[quited his ladies fauor. but heere ſitteth one as if he neither gaue much [eare nor meant to ſpeake.* D. *I was neuer niggard of myne eare but I would [gladlie ſpare my ſpeache.* A. *The wrong were not to us but to y^t you hono[r, if now you ſhall deceaue it of your praiſe and celebracõn.*

The praiſe of knowledg.

Silence were the beſt celebracõn of that w^ch I meane to com[mend; for who would not vſe ſilence there where ſilence is not made, and what [cryer can make ſilence in ſuch a noyſe and tumult of vaine and populer opin[ions? My praiſe ſhalbe dedicate to the mynd itſelfe. The mind is the man an[d knowledg mind. a man is but what he knoweth. The minde it ſelf is but an acc[ident to knowledge. ffor knowledge is a double of y^t w^ch is. The truth of bei[ng and y^e truth of knowing is allone: Are the pleaſures of the affeccõns great[er then y^e pleaſures of the ſences, and are not the pleaſures of the intellect gre[ater then the pleaſures of the affeccons? Js not that onelie a true and na[tural pleaſure whereof there is no ſacietie? Js not that knowledg alone [that doth clear the mind of all perturbacõns? How many things be there w^ch we [imagin they are not? how many things do we eſteeme and valew more then a[re. Theſe vaine imaginations, theſe ill proportioned eſtimations, theſe be the[clowdes of error, that tourne into the ſtormes of perturbacõns. Js there then [any ſuch happines as for a mans minde to be raiſed aboue the confuſion [of things, where he may haue a reſpect of the order of nature and the er[ror of men? Js there but a veiw onelie of delight and not of diſcouerie? of c[ontentm^t, and not of benifitt? ſhall we not diſcerne aſwell the riches of natures wa[rehouſe as the beautie of her ſhopp? Is truth barren? ſhall we not therby [be able to produce worthy effects and to endow the life of man w^th infinit[e commodities? But ſhall J make this garland to be put vpon a wrong [head? Would any man beleeue me if J ſhould verifie this vpon the [knowledge that is now in vſe? are we the richer by one poore invention by [reaſon of all the learning that hath ben this many hundred yeares? The in[duſtrie of artificers maketh ſome ſmale improuments of things invent[ed, and chance ſometimes in experimenting makes vs ſtumble vpon ſomew^t th[at is new. But all the] diſputations of the learned neuer brought to lyg[ht one effect of nature before] unknowen. When things are knowen and found [out, then they can deſcant upon them: they can knitt them into certain cauſes: they can reduce them to their principles. If any inſtance of experience ſtand againſt them, they can range it in order by ſome diſtinctions. But all this is but a web of the wit: it can worke nothing. I do not dowbt but that common notions which we call reaſon, and the knitting of them together which we call\

Logique or the arte of reaſon, may haue vſe in popular ſtudies, but they rather caſt obſcuritie then giue light to the contemplacõn of nature. All the Philoſophie of nature w^ch is now receaued is eyther the Philoſophie of the Gretians or that other of the Alchimiſtꝭ. That of the Grecians hath the foundation in wordꝭ, in oſtentation, in confutacõn, in ſectes, in Auditories, in ſchooles, in diſputacõns. The Gretians are, as one of them ſaith, *you Gretians euer children.* They knew little antiquitie. They knew (except fables) not much aboue 500 yeares before themſelues. They knew but a ſmale porcõn of the world. That of the Alchimiſtꝭ hath the foundation in impoſture, in auriculer tradicõns, and obſcuritie. It was catching holde of religion, but the beſt principle of it is *populus vult decipi:* ſo as I knowe no great difference betweene theiſe great Philoſophers, but that the one is a loude crieng follie, the other a whiſpering folly: the one is gathered out of a few vulgar obſeruacõns, and the other out of a few experim^ts of the furnace: the one neuer faileth to multiplie words and the other ofte faileth to multiplie gold. Who would not ſmile at Ariſtotle, when he admireth y^e eternitie and inuariablenes of the heavẽs, as if there were not the like in the bowells of the earth. They be the confines and borders of theiſe 2 great kingdomes, where the continewall alteracõns and incurſions are. The ſuperficies and vpper part of y^e earth is full of varietie, the ſupficies and lower parte of the heauens w^ch we call the middle region of the ayre is full of varieties. There is much ſpiritt in the one place w^ch cannot be brought into maſſe, there is much maſſie bodie in the other place w^ch cannot be refinde into ſpiritt: the comõ ayre is as the waſt ground betweene the borders. Who would not ſmile at the Aſtronomers, J meane not theiſe new car men w^ch driue the earth about, but the auncient Aſtronomers, y^t faine the moone to be y^e ſwifteſt of the planetꝭ in mocõn, and y^e reſt in order, the hier the [ſlower, and ſo are compelled to imagine a dooble mocõn, whereas how euiden[t is it y^t y^t w^ch they call a contrarie mocõn is but an abatement of mocõn. The fixed ſtarres ouergoe Saturne and Saturne leaueth behind him J[upiter, and ſo in them and the reſt all is but one mocõn, and the nearer the [earth y^e ſlower. A mocõn alſo whereof the aire and the water do participate t[hough much interrupted. But whie do J in a conference of pleaſure enter[into theſe great matters in ſort that pretending to knowe much J ſhould know [not ſeaſon? Pardon me, it was becauſe almoſt all thingꝭ may be indued[and adorned w^th ſpeaches, but | knowledge it ſelf is more beautifull the[n any apparel of wordes y^t can be putt uppon it. And lett me not ſeeme arrogant w^thowt reſpect to theſe great reputed authors. Lett me ſoe giue everie man his due, as I giue time his due, which is to diſcouer truth. Manie of theſe men had greater wittes, farre aboue mine owne, and ſoe are manie in the Univerſities of Europe at this day.]

But alas they learne nothing there but to beleeue. ffirſt [to beleeve that others know that w^{ch} they knowe not; and after [themſelves know y^{t} w^{ch} they knowe not. But indeede facilitie to beleeue, impat[ience to doubt, timeritie to aſſeuer, glorie to knowe, doubte to contradict, en[d to gain, ſloth to ſearch, ſeeking thingꝯ in wordes, reſting in a part of natur[e, theſe and the like haue ben in thingꝯ w^{ch} haue forbidden the happie ma[tch between y^{e} minde of man and the nature of thingꝯ, and in place therof ha[ue married it to vaine nocions and blynde experim^{ts}. And what the poſteritie [and iſſue of ſo honorable a match may be it is not harde to conſider. Printing, [a groſs invention; Artillerie, a thing not farr out of the way; the needle, [a thing partly knowne before: w^{t} a chaunge haue theſe 3 made in the world [in theſe times, the one in the ſtate of learning, the other in the ſtate of the [warre, the thirde in the ſtate of treaſure commodities and nauigation. [And theſe were as I ſay but ſtumbled vpon and lighted on by chaunce. Therfor [no doubt the ſoueraingtye of man lieth hid in knowledge, wherin many [things are reſerued w^{ch} kingꝯ wth their treaſure cannot buy, nor wth th[eir force commaund: their ſpies and intelligencies can giue no newes of [them: their ſeamen and diſcouerers cannot ſaile where they grow. Now [we governe nature in opinions but are thrall to her in neceſſities. but if [we would be led by her inuention we ſhould command her in acc̃on.

A: *This ſpeache deſerueth to be vnderſtood.* B: *now S^{r} you [that firſt made this mocion: I wiſhe you no greater reuenge, but th[at one of vs 3 had intercepted your choiſe.* A: *that were ſmale r[euenge; for then I would be ſilent.* B: *that were againſt your owne [comaund. but I ſhould ſmile to ſee you put to goe ouer the ſame ma[tter.*

The praiſe of his ſoueraigne.

No praiſe of magnam̃itie nor of loue nor of knowledg can in[tercept her praiſe y^{t} planteth and norriſheth magnanimitie by her exam[ple, love by her perſon, and knowledge by the peace and ſerenitie of her tim[es. And if theſe rich peeces be ſo faire vnſett, w^{t} are they ſett? and ſett in [all perfecc̃on? Magnanimitie no doubte conſiſtꝯ in contempt of perrill, [in contempt of profit,] and in merriting the times wherin we liue. [For contempt of perrill, ſee a Ladie,] that cometh to the crowne [after the experience of ſome adverſe fortune, which for the moſt part extenuateth the minde and maketh it apprehenſiue of feares. No ſooner ſhe taketh the ſcepter into her ſacred handes, but ſhe putteth on a reſolution to make the greateſt, the moſt important,]

the moſt daungerous alteracõn that can be in a ſtate, the alteracõn of religion: this ſhe doth, not after a ſoueraingtie eſtabliſht & contine wed by ſundrie yeares, when cuſtome might haue bred in her people a more abſolute obedience, when triall of her ſeruantꝭ might haue made her mõre aſſured whom to employ, when the reputacõn of her pollicie and vertue might haue made her gouerñt more redoubted; but at the verie entrance of her raigne, when ſhe was grene in authoritie, her ſeruants ſcant knowen vnto her, the adverſe part not weakened, her owne part not confirmed: neyther doth ſhe reduce or revnite her realme to the religion of the ſtates about her, that the euill inclinacõn of the ſubiect might be countervailed by the good correſpondence in forraigne partꝭ: but contrariwiſe ſhe introduceth a religion exterminated and perſecuted both at home and abroade. Her ꝓceedingꝭ herein is not by degrees and by ſtealth, but abſolute and at once. Was ſhe encorraged therto by the ſtrength ſhe found in leagues and alliãnces wᵗʰ great perſons & potent confederates? no, but ſhe found her realme in warres wᵗʰ her neereſt and mightieſt neighbors: ſhe ſtoode ſingle and alone, in league onelie wᵗʰ one, that after her people had made his warres, lefte her to make her owne peace; one that could neuer by any ſollicitacõn be moued to renew the treaties, and one that ſince hath ꝓceeded from doubtfull termes of amitie to the hieſt actꝭ of hoſtilitie. Yet notwᵗʰſtanding all this, the oppoſition ſo great, the ſupport ſo weake, the ſeaſon ſo ṽproper, yet I ſay becauſe it was a religion wherin ſhe was nouriſhed and brought vp, a religion that freed her ſubiectꝭ from pretence of forraigne powers, and indeed the true religion, ſhee brought to paſſe this great worke wᵗʰ ſucceſſe aunſwereablee to ſo noble a reſolution. See againe a Q[ueene that when a deepe and ſecreat conſpiracie was plotted againſt her ſac[red ꝑſon, practized by ſubtile inſtrumᵗˢ, embraced by violent and deſperate [humors, bound and ſtrengthẽd by vowes and ſarcamᵗˢ, and the ſame was [revealed vnto her, and yet the nature of the affaires required fur[ther ripening before the apꝑhenſion of any of the ꝑties, was content [to put herſelfe in guarde of the divine ꝓvidence and her owne prudence, [to have ſome of the conſpiratoʳˢ in her eye, to ſuffer them to ap[proach to her ꝑſon, to take a petiõn of yᵉ hand yᵗ was coniured for her d[eath; and thatwᵗʰſuch matie of countenãnce, ſuch mildnes and ſerenitie [of geſture, ſuch art and imp]reſſion of wordes, as had ben ſuffici[ent to have repreſt and bound the hand of a conſpirator if he had not been diſcouered. Laſtly ſee a Queene that when her realme was to haue been invaded by an armie, the preparation whereof was like the travel of an Elephant,]

the prouiſions infinite, the ſetting forth wherof was the [terror and wonder of Europe; it was not ſeene that her cheare, her faſh[on, her ordinary manner, was anie thing altered: not a cloude of that ſ[torme did appeare in that countenaunce
wherein peace doth euer ſhine. but w^th excellent aſſ[urance and adviſed ſecuritie ſhe inſpird her counſell, animated her nobilitie, re[doubled y^e courage of her people; ſtill having this noble app̄henſion not onelie [that ſhe would communicate her fortune w^th them, but y^t it was ſhe that [w^d protect them, and not they her; w^ch ſhe teſtified w^th no leſſe demonſtrati[on then her p̄ſence in campe. Therfor that magnanimitie that neith[er feareth greatnes of alteracc̄on, nor the vowes of conſpirato^rs nor th[e power of enemies, is more then heroicall. For contempt of p̄fitt, [conſider her offers, conſider her purchaſes. She hath raigned in a [moſt populous and welthie peace, her people greatelie multiplied, welth[ily appointed, and ſingularlie deuoted. She wanted not the examples of [the power of her armies in the memorable voyages and inuaſions proſper[ouſly made and atchieued, by ſundrie her noble progenito^rs. She hath [not wanted p̄tences as well of claime and right, as of quarrell and reu[enge. She hath raigned during the minorities of ſome of her neighbo^r [princes, and during the facc̄ons & diviſions of their people vpon deepe and [irreconcileable quarrells, and during the embracing greatnes of ſome on[e that hath made himſelf as weake thorough to much burthen, as others [are through decaie ofſtrength. And yett ſee her ſitting w^thin the compaſ[ſe of her ſands. Scotland that doth in a manner ecclipſe her Iſland, the vnited [provinces of the lowe Countries, w^ch for ſcite, wealth, com̃oditie of traffiq[ue, affection to our nacion, were moſt meete to be annexed to this Crowne, [ſhe left the poſſeſſion of the one and refuſed the ſoveraingtie of the other. [So that notwithſtanding y^e greatnes of her meanes, the iuſtice of her prete[nces, and the rarenes of opportunities, ſhe hath continewed her firſt [mynde: ſhe hath made the poſſeſſions ſhe receyued the limitt̄ of her dominion, [and the world the limitt̄ of her name, by a peace that hath ſtained all [victories. For her meritt, who doth not acknowledge that ſhe hath ben as a [ſtar of moſt fortunate influence vpon the adge wheron ſhe hath ſhine[d? ſhall we ſpeake] of merritts of clemencie or merrits of benefic[ence? Where ſhall a man take] the moſt proper and naturall [tryal of her royal clemencie? Will it beſt appeare in the injuries that were done unto her before ſhe attayned the crowne? or after ſhe is ſeated in her throne, or that the commonwealth is incorporated in her perſon, then clemencie]

is drawen in queſtion as a daungerous incounter betweene Iuſtice & pollicie. And therfor who did euer note than ſhe did reſcent after ſhe was eſtabliſhed in her kingdome of the wrongꝭ done in her former ſtate? Who doth not remember how ſhe reuenged the rudenes and rigor of her Jailer by a worde? and that not bitter but ſalte, and ſuch as ſhewed rather the excellencie of her wit, then any impreſſion of the wrong. Yea and farther, is it not too manifeſt, that ſince her raigne, notwthſtanding that principle *that princes ſhould not neglect the commonwealthes wronges included in themſelues*, yett when it is queſtion of drawing the ſworde, there is euer a conflict betweene the iuſtice of her place, ioyned wth the neceſſitie of her eſtate, and her owne royall clemẽcie, wch as a ſoueraigne and precious balme continuallie diſtilleth from her faire handes, and falleth into the woundes of manie that haue incurred the offence of her lawes. Now for her beneficence, what kinde of perſons haue euer breathed during her moſt happie raigne, but haue had the benifite of her vertues conveyed vnto them? Take a veiwe and conſider whether they haue not extended to ſubiectes, to neighbors, to remote ſtraungers, yea to her greateſt enemies. For her ſubiectes, where ſhall we beginne in ſuch a maze of benifites as preſenteth it ſelfe to our remembrance? Shall we ſpeake of the purging away the droſſe of religion, the heauenlie treaſure? or that of monies, the earthlie treaſure? the greater was touched before and the latter deſerueth not to be forgotten. For who knoweth not, that knoweth anie thing in matters of eſtate, of the greate abſurdities and fraudes that ariſe of the deuorſing ye legall eſtimacõn of monie from the generall, and (as I may terme it) naturall eſtimacon of the mettalls, and againe of the incertaine and wavering valewes of coines, a verie laborinth of cooſenages and abuſes, and yett ſuch as great[e princes haue made their proffitt of towardes their owne people. Paſſe [on from the myne to the revenewes and receiptes, there ſhall you fynd no[rayſing of rentes, notwthſtanding the alteracõn of prizes and the vſage of the [times, but the ouervalewe, beſides a reaſonable fine, lefte for the releef [of tenants and rewarde of ſeruantes. No raiſing of cuſtomes notwthſtand[ing her continuall charges of ſetting to ſea. No extremities taken of for[feiture and penall lawes, a meanes vſed by ſome kings for the ga[thering of great treaſures. A few forfeitures indeede, not taken [to her owne purſe but ſett ouer to ſome others for triall onelie whether [gaine could bring theſe lawes to be well executed, wch the miniſters [of juſtice did neglect. But] after it was founde that onelie com[paſſions were uſed, and the law nevr the nerer the execution, the courſe was ſtraight ſuppreſſed and diſcontynewed. Yea there have been made laws more than one in her time for the reſtrainte of the vexation of informers and promoters: naye, a courſe

taken by her own direction for the repealing of all heavie and ſnared laws, if it had not bene croſſed by thoſe to whom the benefit ſhould have redounded. Ther ſhall you finde, no new taxes, impoſitions nor devyces; but the benevolence of the ſubject freely offred by aſſent of Parliament according to the ancient rates, and with great moderation in aſſeſſement; and not ſo only, but ſome new formes of contribution offred likewiſe by the ſubject in Parliament; and the demonſtration of their devotion only excepted, but the thing never put in ure. Ther ſhall you finde loanes, but honourablie anſwered and payd as it were the contracte of a private man. To conclude, there ſhall you find moneys levied upon ſales of lands, alienations (though not of the ancient patrimonie) yet of the rich and commodious purchaſes and perquiſites of the Crowne only becauſe ſhe will not be grevous and burthenſome to the people. This treaſure, ſoe innocently levyed, ſo honorablye gathered and rayſed, with ſuch tendernes to the ſubject, without any baſenes or drynes at all; how hath it bene expended andimployed? Wher be the waſteful buildings, and the exorbitant and prodigal donatives, the ſumptuous diſſipations in pleaſures and vaine oſtentations, which we finde have exhauſted the coffers of ſo many Kings? It is the honour of her houſe, the royal remunerating of her ſervants, the preſervation of her people and ſtate, the protection of her ſuppliants and allies, the encounter, breaking and defeating the enemyes of her realme, that hath bene the only pores and pipes whereby the treaſure hath yſſued. Hath it bene the ſinewes of a bleſſed and proſperous peace? hath ſhe bought her peace? hath ſhe lent the King of Spain money upon ſome cavillation not to be repeated? and ſoe bought his favour? and hath ſhee given large penſions to corrupt his Counſel? Noe, but ſhee hath uſed the moſt honorable divertion of trobles that canne be in the world. Shee hath kept the fyer from her own walles by ſeeking to quench it in her neighbors. That poor brand of the ſtate of *Burgundy*, and that other of the crowne of *France* that remayneth, had bene in aſhes but for the readie fountaine of her continewall benignitie. For the honor of her houſe, it is well known that almoſt the univerſal manners of the times doth incline to a certaine parſimonie and drines in that kinde of expence: yet ſhee retayneth the auncient magnificence, the allowance as full, the charge greater than in time of her father, or anie king before. The bookes appeare, the computation will not flatter. And for the remunerating and rewarding of her ſervants and the attendance of the Court, let a man caſt and ſom̃e up all the bookes of giftes, fee farmes, leaſes and cuſtodies that have paſſed her bountiful hands. Let him conſider again what a number of commodious and gaineful offices heretofore beſtowed upon men of other education and profeſſion have bene withdrawen and conferred upon her Courte. Let him remember what a number of other giftes, diſguiſed by other names but in effect as good as monie given out of her cofers, have bene granted by her: and he will conclude that her royall minde is farre above her meanes. The other benefits of her politick,

clement, and gratious government towards the ſubjects are without number; the ſtate of juſtice good, notwithſtanding the great ſubtiltie and humorous affections of theſe times; the ſecuritie of peace greater than can be deſcribed by that verſe,

Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat:
Nutrit rura Ceres almaque fauſtitas:

or that other

Condit quiſque diem collibus in ſuis.

The opulencye of the peace ſuch as if you have reſpect (to take one ſigne for manie) to the number of faire houſes that have bene built ſince her raigne, as *Auguſtus* ſaid that he had receyved the city of brick and lefte it of marble, ſo ſhee maye ſaye ſhee receyved it a realme of cottages and hath made it a realme of palaces: the ſtate of traffique great and rich: the cuſtomes, notwithſtanding theſe warres and interruptions, not fallen: manie profitable trades, manie honorable diſcoveries: and laſtly, to make an end where no end is, the ſhipping of this realme ſoe advanced and made ſoe mighty and potent, as this Iland is become (as the natural ſcite thereof deſerved) the ladie of the ſea; a point of ſoe high conſequence, as it may be truly ſaid that the commaundement of the ſea is an abridgement or a quinteſſence of an univerſal monarchy. This and much more hath ſhee merited of her ſubjects: now to ſet forth the merit of her neyghbors and the ſtates about her. It ſemeth the tymes have made themſelves purveyors of continual newe and noble occaſions for her to ſhewe them benignitie, and that the fyers of trobles abrode have bene ordayned to [be] as lights and tapers to make her vertew and magnanimitie more apparant. For when that one, ſtranger borne, the familie of *Guiſe*, being as a haſtie weed ſprung up in a night, had ſpred itſelf to a greatnes not civil but ſeditious; a greatnes, not of encounter of the auncyent nobilitie, not of preheminencie in the favor of kings, and not remiſſe of affayres from kings; but a greatnes of innovation in ſtate, of uſurpations of auctoritye, of affecting of crownes; and that accordingly under color of conſanguinitie and religion they had brought French forces into Scotland, in the abſence of their King and Queen being within their uſurped tutell: and that the auncient nobilitie of this realme, ſeeing the imminent danger of reducing that kingdom under the tyranny of foreinors and their faction, had according to the good intelligence betwixt the two crownes prayed her neyghbourly ſuccours: ſhee undertooke the action, expelled the ſtrangers, reſtored the nobilitie to their degree; and leſte anie man ſhould think her intent was to unneſtle ill neyghbors, and not to ayde good neyghbors, or that ſhee was readyer to reſtore what was invaded by others then to render what was in her owne hands: ſee if the tyme provided not a newe occaſion afterwards, when through their owne deviſions (without the intermiſe of ſtrangers) her forces were again ſought and required; ſhee forſooke them not, prevailed ſo far as to be poſſeſſed of the caſtell of Edenborough, the principall ſtrength of that kingdome, w^ch^ place *incontinently, without* cunctations or cavillations (the preambles of a wavering *fayth) ſhe rendered* with all honour and ſinceritie; and his perſon to ſafe and]

hfaithfull handes; and ſo euer after during his minoritie con[tinewed his princi-
ipall guardian and protector. In the times betweene theeſe [two occaſyons of
Scotland, when the ſame faccõn of Guiſe, couered ſtill w^th a pr[etence of religion,
and ſtrengthened by deſire of retaining goverm^t in the mothe[r Queene of
Fraunce, had raiſed and moued ciuell warres in y^t kingdome, [only to extir-
-pate the auncient nobilitie by ſhocquing them one againſt ano[ther, and to waſte
y^t Realme as the candle that is lighted at both endes, and that [thoſe of y^e Reli-
gion, being neare of the bloude royall and otherwiſe of the gre[ateſt howſe
in Fraunce, and great officers of the Crowne, oppoſed the[mſelves only
againſt their inſolencie, and to their ſupport called in their [aides, giving
vnto them new-*Hauen* for a place of ſecuritie, ſee w^th w^t [alacritye, in
tender regard towardes y^e fortune of that young king, whoſe name was v[ſed to y^e ſupplan-
-ting of his owne ſtrength, ſhe embraced the enterprize, [by the ſupport and
reputacõn whereof the ſame ptie ſuddenlie made great ꝑceed[ings and in
concluſion made their peace as they would themſelues. An[d although
they ioyned themſelues againſt and ꝑfourmed y^e parts rather of [good patriots
then of good confederates, and that after great demonſtration [of valour in
her ſubiects (as the French to this daie will reporte), eſpecia[lly by
y^e great mortalitie, and by thè hand of god, and the rather bec[auſe it
is knowen ſhe did neuer much affect the holding of that towne [to her
owne vſe, it was lefte & her forces w^thdrawen, yett that did [nothing
diminiſhe the merritt of y^t crowne, and namelie of that ꝑtie, [who recovered
by it ſuch ſtrength, as by y^t and no other thing they ſubſiſted [long after.
And leaſt any man ſhould ſineſterlie and malicioulie enterp[ret that ſhe
did nouriſh theſe diuiſions, who knoweth not w^t faithfull advice, [continual
and earneſt ſollicitacõn ſhe vſed by her Embaſſado^rs and miniſter[s to y^e French
kꝙ ſucceſſiuelie, and to their mother, to moue them to keepe the[ir edicts
of Pacificacõn and to retaine their owne authoritie and gre[atnes by
the vnion of their ſubjectꝙ: w^ch councell (if it had been as h[appily
followed as it was prudentlie and ſincerelie given,) Fr[aunce had bene
at this day a moſt floriſhing kingdome, w^ch is now a theat[er of miſerye.
And now at laſt when the ſame houſe of Guiſe, being one of [the whippes
of god (whereof themſelues are but y^e cordes and Spaine y^e [ſtocke) had by
their infinite aſpiring practiſes wrought y^t miracle of ſt[ates, to make a
king in poſſeſſion long eſtabliſhed to play againe for his [crowne, without
any] title of a competitor, w^thout any maine inuaſion [of a foreine enemye,
yea] w^thout any combinacõn in ſubſtaunce of any bloud [royall or nobilitie,
but onelie by f]urring in audacious perſons in[to ſondry government, and
by making the populare of townes drunke with ſeditious preachers; and
that King Henry the third, awaked by thoſe preſſing dangers, was compelled
to execute the Duke of Guiſe without ceremony, and yet nevertheleſs found
the deſpayre of ſoe manie perſons embarked and engaged in that conſpiracye

ſo violent, as the fflame therby was little aſſwadged, ſo as he was inforcec to implore her aydes and ſuccors, conſider how benigne eare & correſpon--dence ſhe gaue to the diſtreſſed requeſtꝭ of yᵗ king: and he ſoone after being by the ſacrilegious hand of a wretched Jacobine lifted vp againſt the ſacred perſon of his naturall ſoueraigne taken away (wheerin not the criminous death of Guiſe but the innocent bloude wᶜʰ he had after ſpilt by the inſtigac̃on of him and his howſe was revenged,) and yᵗ this wor--thie genꝭ who now raigneth came to the crowne, it will not be for--gotten by ſo gratefull a king nor by ſo obſerving an adge, how readie, how opportune and ſeaſonable, how royall and ſufficient her ſuccorꝭ were, wherby ſhe inlarged him at that time and p̃ſerued him to his better fortune. And euer ſince in theſe tedious warres wherin he hath to doe wᵗʰ a Hidra or monſter wᵗʰ manie heades, ſhe hath ſupported him wᵗʰ treaſure wᵗʰ treaſure, wᵗʰ forces, and wᵗʰ imployᵐᵗ of one whom ſhe favoreth moſt. What ſhall J ſpeake of the offering Don Ant: to his fortune, a deuoted Catholique onelie commended vnto her by his oppreſſed State? What ſhould J ſpeake of the great ſtorme of a mightie inuaſion, not in p̃para--c̃on but in acte by the Turke vppon the king of Poleland, latelie diſſipated onelie by the handꝭ of her reputac̃on wᶜʰ wᵗʰ the grand *Seignior* is greater then that of all the States of Europe put together. But lett me reſt vpon the honorable and continuall ayde and releife ſhe hath given to the diſtreſſed and deſolate people of the lowe countries, a people com--mended vnto her by auncient confederacie and dailie entercourſe, by their cauſe ſo innocent and their fortune ſo lamentable. And yett notwᵗʰſtanding, to keepe the conformitie of her owne p̃ceedingꝭ neuer ſtained wᵗʰ the leaſt noate of ambition or malice, ſhe refuſed the ſoveraingtie of diuers goodlie p̃--vinces, offred vnto her wᵗʰ great inſtance, to haue ben accepted wᵗʰ grea[te contentmᵗ both of her owne people and theirs, and iuſtlie to be deriu[ed either in reſpect of the hoſtilitie of Spaine, or in reſpecte of the cond[ic̃ons liberties and priviledges of theſe ſubiects, and wᵗʰ one chardge daung[er & offence to the king of Spaine and his p̃tizans: ſhe hath taken vpon her one[lie their defence and protec̃on, wᵗʰout any further auaile or p̃fitt vnto he[rſelf then the honor and merritt of her benignitie: a people that haue ben [p̃ſued by their naturall king onelie by paſſion and wrath in ſort that he hath [according to yᵉ proverbe (*aratro iaculari*) conſumed his meanes vpon re[venge. And (having to verifie that wᶜʰ J haue ſaid, yᵗ her merrittꝭ haue [extended to her greateſt enemies) lett it be remembred wᵗ hath paſſed [in yᵗ matter betweene the king of Spaine and her. Firſt how in the [beginning of yᵉ trobles there ſhe gaue and imparted to him faithfull and [friendly advice touching yᵉ courſe that was to be taken for the quiet[ing and appeaſing of them. Then ſhee interpoſed her ſelfe to moſt juſt and reaſonable capitulations, *whercin alwayes* ſhould have bene preſerved unto him as ample in--*tereſt juriſdiction* and ſuperioritie in thoſe countries as he in right could *claime, or a Prince well* minded would ſeek to have, and (wᵗʰ is the greateſt point)

ſhe did by her advice, creditt, and pollicie, and all good meane[s inꝛupt & impeache that the ſame people by deſpaire ſhould not vtt[erly alien and diſtracte themſelues from the obedience of the king of Sp: a[nd caſt them ſelues into the armes of a ſtraunger, inſomuch as it is moſt [true that ſhe did euer diſſuade the Duke of Aniou from that accõn notw[th][ſtanding the affeccon ſhe [bare ye] ſaid Duke and the obſtinacie wch ſhe ſawe dailie [growing inye king of Sp: Laſtlie to touch the mightie and generall merrit [of this Queene, beare in mynde that her benignitie hath ben as large [as the oppreſſion and ambition of the Sp: For to beginne wth the Church of [Rome, yt ꝓtended Apoſtolicke ſea is become but a donative cell of the kyng of [Spayne: the vicar of Chriſt is become the king of Sps chapleyne: he pteth the com[ing in of the new pope for the treaſure of the olde. He was wont to exclude [but ſome 2 or 3 cardinalls, and to leaue the elecõn free of the reſt. But now h[e doth include and preſent directlie ſome ſmale nomber, all incapable and inc[ompatible wth the *Conclaue*, put in onelie for culler, except one or two[. The ſtates of Italie, they be like little quillettꝭ of freeholdꝭ lieing interrupte w[ithin a great Lordſhipp. ffraunce is turned vpſide downe, the ſub[ject againſt the king, cutt and mangled infinitelie: a countrey of Rodam[onts & Roytelets, ffarmers of the warres. Portugall vſurped by no other [title then ſtrength and vicinitie. The lowe countries warrd vpon, becauſe [he ſeeketh, not to poſſeſſe them (for they were poſſeſſed by him before) but to p[lant there an abſolute and martiall goverm[t] to ſuppreſſe their liberties[: the like at this day attempted vpon Arragon; the poore Jndies, wheras [ye chriſtian religion generallie brought infranchiſemts of ſlaues where it [came, in a contrarie courſe are brought from free men to be ſlaues and [ſlaves of moſt miſerable condicõn. The ſundrie practiſes and tirannies [of this King's ambition in Germanie, Denmarke, Scotlande, the eaſt town[es, are not vnknowen. Then it is her goverm[t] and her gverm[t] alone that hath [bene ye ſconſe and forte of all *Europe*, wch hath lett this proud nat[ion from oũcoming all. If any ſtate be yett free from his facõns [erected in ye bowells thereof, if there be any ſtate where this facõn is er[ected, yt is not yet fired wth ciuell troubles, if there be anie ſtate vnder his prote[ction upon whom he vſurpeth not, if there be anie ſtate ſubiect to him th[at enjoyeth moderate libertie vppon whom he tirannizeth not, lett them [all knowe it to be the merritt of this renowned Queene, that ſtandes b[etweene them and their diſſortunes. Theiſe be ſome of the beames of her [noble and radiant magnanimitie, in contempt of perrill wch ſo many flie, in c[ontempt of pro]fitt wch ſo manie admire, and in merritt of the [worlde wh ſoe manie include in] themſelues, ſett forth in my ſimplicitie [of ſpeech wth much loſs of luſtre, but] wth neare approach of truth; as [the ſunne is ſeene in the water. Now to paſſe to the excellences of her perſon; the viewe of them wholly and not ſeverallie doe make ſoe ſweete a wonder as I feare to diuide them againe: nobilitie extracted out of the royall and victorious lyne of the kings *of England; yea both roſes* white and red do as well floriſhe in her nobilitie as [in]

her beautie: a health ſuch as is like ſhe ſhould haue, that was brought forth betweene two of the goodlieſt princes of the world, in ſtrength of their yeares, in heate of their loue; y^t hath not ben iniured neyther w^th an ouer liberall nor an ouer curious diett; that hath not ben ſoftened by an vmbratill life ſtill vnder the rooffe, but ſtrengthened by vſe of the pure and open aire, that ſtill retaineth flower and vigor of youth. ffor the beautie and manie graces of her p̄ſence what cullors are fine enough for ſuch a portraiture? Lett no light Poett be vſed for ſuch a deſcription, but the chaſteſt and the royalleſt.

of her gate
et vera inceſſu patuit dea
of her voice
nec vox hominem ſonat
of her eye
et lætos oculis afflarat honores
of her couler
Indū ſanguineo veluti violauerit oſtro, ſiquis Ebur
of her necke
et roſea ceruice refulſit
of her breaſt℄
veſte ſinus collecta fluentes
of her haire
ambroſiæq comæ diuinū vertice odorem ſpirauere

If this be p̄ſumption lett him beare the blame that oweth y^e verſes. w^t ſhall J ſpeake of her rare qualities of complem^ts, w^ch as they be excellent in y^e thing℄ themſelues ſo they haue alwaies beſides ſomew^t of a Queene; and as Queenes vſe ſhadowes and vailes w^th their rich apparell, ſo methink℄ in all her quallities there is ſomew^t that flieth from oſtentation and yett inviteth the minde to con--template the more. w^t ſhould J ſpeake of her excellent guifte of ſpeach [bea-ring a caracter of the greatenes of her conceipte, the height of her degre[e, and the ſweetnes of her nature? W^t life, w^t grace, w^t edge is there [in theiſe wordes and glaunces wherw^th at pleaſure ſhe can giue a [man longe to thinke? be it y^t ſhee meane to daunt him, to encorrage him [or to amaze him. How admirable is her diſcourſe, whether it be in lea[rning, ſtate, or loue. W^t varietie of knowledge? w^t rarenes of conceypt? [what choice of word℄? w^t grace of vtterance? Doth it not appeare, th[at though her witt be as the adamant of excellencies w^ch draweth out of a[nie book auncient or new, out of any writing or ſpeach the beſt, yett [ſhee refineth it, ſhe enricheth it farr aboue y^e valewe wherein it wa[s received. And is her ſpeach onelie y^t language w^ch the child [learneth w^th pleaſure, and not that w^ch the ſtudious learne w^th induſtrie? [Hath ſhee not attayned beſide] her rare eloquence in her owne lan[guage, infinitely poliſhed ſince her happy times, changes of] other [languages both learned and moderne: ſo that ſhe *is able to negotiate* w^th divers ambaſſadors in their owne languages, and that *w^th no [ſmall] diſ*advantage unto them: who I thinke cannot but have a great part of]

their witts diſtracted from their matters in hand to the contem[plation & admi-
—ration of ſuch perfecc̃ons. W^t ſhould J wander on to ſpeake of y^e ex[cellencies of her
nature w^ch cannot endure to be looked on w^th a diſcontented eye? [of y^e conſtancy
of her favo^rs w^ch maketh her ſeruice as a iorney by land, wh[eras y^e ſervice
of other Princes is like an imbarcquing by ſea. As for her roya[l wiſdom and
pollicie, he that ſhall note the prudent temper ſhe vſeth in ad[mitting acceſſe, of
the one ſide maintayning the ma^tie of her degree, and on the other ſi[de not ꝑjudicing
herſelf by looking into her eſtate thorough too few windowes: her [exquiſite judgm^t
in chooſing and finding good ſeruantꝭ (a pointe wherin her father [excelled): her
pollitique ſkill in making and trayning good ſeruantꝭ (a point be[yond y^e former):
a profound diſcretion in aſſigning and appropriating everie of them [to their apteſt
imploym^t: her penetrating ſight in diſcoueringe euerie mans endꝭ [& drifts: her
wonderfull art in keeping her ſervantꝭ in ſatisfacc̃on and yett in [appetite: her
intentiue witt in contriving plottꝭ and oũtournes: her exact ca[ution in cen-
-ſuring the propoſic̃ons of others: her ſecreacie: her forſeeing [events, her
vſing occaſions: he that ſhall conſider of theſe and other thing[s y^t may
not well be touched, as he ſhall neuer ceaſe to wonder at ſuch a [Queene, ſoe
he ſhall wonder the leſſe y^t in ſo daungerous times, when wittꝭ [are ſoe cun-
ning, humo^rs ſo extrauagant, paſſions ſo violent, corrupcons ſo [great, diſſi-
mulacons ſo deepe, faccons ſo many, ſhe hath notw^thſtanding d[one ſuch great
things & raigned in ſuch felicitie. For to ſpeake of her fortune, [let no man
obiect to me as a defect in her fortune y^t w^ch I did reſerue for [a garlande
of her honor, and y^t is that ſhe liueth a virgin and hath no [children.
ffor it is that w^ch maketh all other vertues & actꝭ more ſacred, more [auguſt, more
devine. Lett them leaue children y^t leaue no other memorie in the[ir times. *Bru-
-torũ æternitas ſoboles.* Revolue in hiſtories the memories of happie [men, and
you ſhall not fynde any of rare felicitie but eyther he died ch[ildleſs or
his lyne ſoone ſpent after his death, or elſe was vnfortunate in [his chil-
-dren. Should a man haue children to be ſlayne by his vaſſall[s, as the
Poſthumus of Alexander y^e great was? or to call them his [impoſthumes,
as *Auguſtus Cæſar* called his? Pervſe the catologue. *Corne[lius Sylla,
Julius Cæſar, Flauius Veſpaſian, Septimius Seuerus, Conſtan[tinus* the
greate; and the rule holdeth. *Generare et liberi humana, cre[are et ope-
ra diuina.* And therfor (this obiecc̃on remoued) lettꝭ ꝓceed[e to take
a veiw of her felicitie. A mate of ffortune ſhe neuer [tooke: onely
ſome adverſitie ſhe paſſed at the firſt, to giue her [a quicker ſenſe of
the ꝓſperitie that ſhould follow, and to make her [more repoſed in the
di]vine ꝓvidence. Well ſhe commeth to y^e crowne. [It was noe ſmall for-
-tune to] fynde at her entrañce ſome ſuch ſeruãntꝭ [and counſellors
as ſhee then found. The French Kinge, who at this time by reaſon of the
peace concluded with Spayne and of the intereſt he had in Scotland
mought have proved a daungerous neyghbour, by howe ſtrange an
accident was he taken away. The Kinge of Spayne, who if he would have
enclyned to reduce the Lowe Countries by lenitie, conſydering the goodly revenewes]

wch he drew from thoſe countries, the greate commodites to annoy her ſtate from them, might haue made a mightie & perillous machinacõn againſt her repoſe, putteth on a reſoluc̃on not onelie to vſe the meanes of thoſe lowe countries but to ſpende and conſume all his other meanes, the treaſures of his Jndies, and the forces of his ill compacted dominions, there and vpon them. The Earles yt rebelled in the North before the Duke of Norff: plotte (wch indeed was the ſtrength and ſteele of yt commotion) was fullie ripe, brooke forth and preuented their time. The king Sebaſtian of Portugall, whom the king of Sp: would faine haue perſwaded, that it was a devouter ꝯterprize to purge Chriſtendome then to enlardge it, though ſome thinke he did artificiallie nouriſh him in yt voyadg, is cutt in peeces wth his army in Affriq. Then hath the king of Sp: wo'ke cutt out to make all thingꝭ in readdines during the olde Cardinalls time for the conqueſt of Portugall, whereby his deſire of inuading England was ſlacked and put of ſome yeares, and by yt meanes was put in excuc̃on at a time for ſome reſpect more to his diſadvantadg. And ye ſame inuaſion, like as if it had ben attempted before, it had the time much more proper and favorable, ſo likewiſe had it (in true diſcourſe) had a better ſeazon afterwardꝭ. ffor if it had ben deferred till time that the league had ben better confirmed in ffr: wch no doubte it would haue ben if y Duke of Guiſe (who was the onelie man of worth on that ſide) had liued, (and the ffr: K: durſt neuer haue layd handꝭ on him had he not ben ani-mated by the Engliſh victorie againſt the Sp: p̃cedent:) and then ſome maritime townes had ben gotten into the handꝭ of the league, it had ben a great ſuertie and ſtrength to that enterprize. The Popes to conſider of them, whoſe courſe and pollicie it had ben, to haue temporized and [to haue diſpenſed wth ye papiſts cõming to Church, that through the maſke of their hipocriſie, they might haue ben brought into pl[aces of governmt in State and in the countrey, they contrariwiſe [by the inſtigation of ſome fugitive ſchollers yt adviſe them not wt w[as beſt for the ſea of Roome but wt agreed beſt wth their owne eag[er humours and deſperate ſtates, diſcouer and declare themſelues ſo f[arre by ſending in of Seminaries and taking reconcilemt, as there is ne[w ſeveritie of lawes introduced for ye repreſſing of that ſort, and [men of that religion are become ye more ſuſpect. Wt ſhould J ſay of [ſoe manie ſecreate conſpiracies miraculouſlie detected? The record[s ſhew the treaſons; but it is yett hidden in many of them how [they came to light. What ſhould I ſpea]ke of the death of her ene[mies and the wicked inſtrumts. towards her eſtate? Don Juan dyed not amiſſe: Dawbeny, Duke of Lenox, who was uſed as an inſtrument to divorce Scotland from the amitye of England, dyed in no ill ſeaſon, a man withdrawen indeed at that time to France; but *not* without greate helpe. I maye not mention the death of ſome]

that occurr to my minde, but ſtill me think℄ they liue [that ſhould live, and they die that ſhould die. J would not haue the [K of Spain dye yet: he is *ſeges gloriæ*. But when he groweth daungerous, or any [other beſides him, J am perſwaded they will die. What ſhould I [ſpeake of the fortunes and honor of her armies? w^{ch} notwthſtanding the [inward peace of this nation, were neuer more renowned. What ſh[ould I recount *Leeth*, *Newhauen*, J ſay *Newhauen*, for the honorable ſ[kirmiſhes and ſeruices there are no blemiſhe at all to the militia of [England. In the lowe countries, the *Lammas* day, the retrait of [Gante, the daye at Sutphen, and the proſperous progreſſe of this ſ[ummer: The brauado in Portugall and the honorable exploit℄ in [the ayde of the French kyng; beſides the memorable voiages into the [Indies, and laſtlie the good entertainem^{t} of the invincible navie, [w^{ch} was chaſed till the chaſers were wearie, after infinite loſſe, wthout t[aking a cock--boate, wthout firing a ſhipcoate, ſailed on at the mercie of the [winde and the diſcreac̃on of their adventurers, making a perambulac̃on or [pilgrimage about the northren ſeas, and ennobling many ſhoores and point℄ [of lande by ſhipwrackes, and ſo returned home wth ſcorne & diſhonor [much grea--ter then the terror and expectacon of their ſetting forth. T[heſe vertues and perfecc̃ons, ioyned wth ſo great felicitie, haue made he[r the honour of her times, the admirac̃on of the world, the ſuite and [aſpiring of the greateſt kyng℄ and princes, who yett durſt neuer haue aſpi[red unto her as worthy of her, but as their mindes were raiſed by l[ove. But whie do J forgett that word℄ doe extenuate and embaſe ma[tters of that height? Time is her beſt commender, w^{ch} neuer broug[ht forth ſuch a prince, whoſe imperiall vertues contende wth the [excellencie of her perſon, both vertues contende wth her fortune, and [both vertue and fortune contende wth her fame.

{ *orbis amor, famæ carmen, cæliq pupilla,* }
{ *tu decus omne tuis: tu decus ipſa tibi.* } .

NOTES.

faithfull handes; and ſo euer after during his minoritie con[tinewed his princi-
pall guardian and protector. In the times betweene theeſe [two occaſyons of
Scotland, when the ſame faccõn of Guiſe, couered ſtill w^th a pr[etence of religion,
and ſtrengthened by deſire of retaining goverm^t in the mothe[r Queene of
Fraunce, had raiſed and moued ciuell warres in y^t kingdome, [only to extir-
-pate the auncient nobilitie by ſhocquing them one againſt ano[ther, and to waſte
y^t Realme as the candle that is lighted at both endes, and that [thoſe of y^e Reli-
gion, being neare of the bloude royall and otherwiſe of the gre[ateſt howſe
in Fraunce, and great officers of the Crowne, oppoſed the[mſelves only
againſt their inſolencie, and to their ſupport called in their [aides, giving
vnto them new-*Hauen* for a place of ſecuritie, ſee w^th w^t [alacritye, in
tender regard towardes y^e fortune of that young king, whoſe name was v[ſed to y^e ſupplan-
-ting of his owne ſtrength, ſhe embraced the enterprize, [by the ſupport and
reputacõn whereof the ſame ptie ſuddenlie made great ꝓceed[ings and in
concluſion made their peace as they would themſelues. An[d although
they ioyned themſelues againſt and ꝓfourmed y^e parts rather of [good patriots
then of good confederates, and that after great demonſtration [of valour in
her ſubiects (as the French to this daie will reporte), eſpecia[lly by
y^e great mortalitie, and by thè hand of god, and the rather bec[auſe it
is knowen ſhe did neuer much affect the holding of that towne [to her
owne vſe, it was lefte & her forces w^thdrawen, yett that did [nothing
diminiſhe the merritt of y^t crowne, and namelie of that ꝓtie, [who recovered
by it ſuch ſtrength, as by y^t and no other thing they ſubſiſted [long after.
And leaſt any man ſhould ſineſterlie and maliciouſlie enterp[ret that ſhe
did nouriſh theſe diuiſions, who knoweth not w^t faithfull advice, [continual
and earneſt ſollicitacõn ſhe vſed by her Embaſſado^rs and miniſter[s to y^e French
kꝯ ſucceſſiuelie, and to their mother, to moue them to keepe the[ir edicts
of Pacificacõn and to retaine their owne authoritie and gre[atnes by
the vnion of their ſubjectꝯ: w^ch councell (if it had been as h[appily
followed as it was prudentlie and ſincerelie given,) Fr[aunce had bene
at this day a moſt floriſhing kingdome, w^ch is now a theat[er of miſerye.
And now at laſt when the ſame houſe of Guiſe, being one of [the whippes
of god (whereof themſelues are but y^e cordes and Spaine y^e [ſtocke) had by
their infinite aſpiring practiſes wrought y^t miracle of ſt[ates, to make a
king in poſſeſſion long eſtabliſhed to play againe for his [crowne, without
any] title of a competitor, w^thout any maine inuaſion [of a foreine enemye,
yea] w^thout any combinacõn in ſubſtaunce of any bloud [royall or nobilitie,
but onelie by f]urring in audacious perſons in[to ſondry government, and
by making the populare of townes drunke with ſeditious preachers; and
that King Henry the third, awaked by thoſe preſſing dangers, was compelled
to execute the Duke of Guiſe without ceremony, and yet nevertheleſs found
the deſpayre of ſoe manie perſons embarked and engaged in that conſpiracye[

with an expoſure of the weakneſs of the Stoiciſm which affects to diveſt itſelf of wants by renouncing deſires. The argument is ſeriouſly diſcuſsed in the ſecond book of the *Advancement of Learning*, in the remarks on private and particular good.

P. 5, l. 2. *Will you neither followe others nor ſpare yourſelf?* So in MS. I ſuſpect ſome miſtake both in this line and the next; where "an occaſion *and* cenſure," though certainly the reading of the MS. can hardly be what Bacon meant to write. But the general meaning is clear enough; Will you pretend to deſpiſe all that other men value?

P. 5, l. 6. *I ſeek but an even tenor of minde.* Compare *Advice to the Earl of Rutland in his travels;* "The Stoics were of opinion that there was no way to attain this even temper of mind but to be ſenſeleſs; and ſo they ſold their goods to ranſom themſelves from their evils."—*Letters and Life of Bacon.* Vol. II. p. 8.

P. 5, l. 7-10. *I will not uſe, &c.* Compare *Advancement of Learning*, Book II. p. 247. "For can it be doubted that there are ſome who take more pleaſure in enioying pleaſures than ſome other; and yet nevertheleſse are leſse troubled with the loſse or leauing of them: So as this ſame *Non uti ut non appetas; Non appetere ut non metuas, ſunt animi puſilli et diffidentis.*" Compare alſo *De Aug. Scient.* Lib. VI. p. 697. "*Iſta* non uti ut non appetas, non appetere ut non timeas, *puſillanimi ſunt et diffidentis.*"

P. 5, l. 12. *of the deſtitution of a pleaſure.* So in the MS. as originally written. A later pen has ſubſtituted "receſs" for "deſtitution," which is evidently a critic's crotchet. The corrector thought "deſtitution" an imperfect antitheton to "acceſse." But I think Bacon would have conſidered the objections to "receſs" more weighty.

P. 5, l. 14. *againſt heat of ſunſbine, &c.* Temperance without Fortitude might teach a man to do without pleaſure, but not to encounter pain; and was therefore a proviſion againſt heat of ſunſhine, which warms and comforts, but not againſt heat of fire, which burns and hurts.

P. 5, l. 20. *a man is able to uſe pleaſures, &c.* Compare *Adv. of Learn.* Book II. p. 242. "So as Diogenes opinion is to be accepted, who commended not them which abſtained, but them which ſuſtained, and could refraine their minde *in præcipitio*, and could give unto the mind (as is uſed in horſemanſhip) the ſhorteſt ſtop or turne."

P. 5, l. 24. *Of Pleaſure, now lett us inquire.* "As for pleaſure, wee have likewiſe determined that the minde oughte not to bee reduced to ſtupid, but to retayne pleaſure; confined rather in the ſubiect of it then in the ſtrength and vigor of it." *Adv. of Learn.* Book II. p. 86 *b.*

P. 5, l. 26. *ſhall make, but it is the bleſſing nature, &c.* The conſtruction here is awkward, but the remedy does not ſeem to lie within the

ſpace left for conjecture; and there can be no doubt about the words as they ſtand in the MS. There is a full ſtop, indeed, after "make," but I do not know how to fill the blank ſo as to form a complete ſentence, and I think a word muſt have been omitted by the tranſcriber. Perhaps "make a doubt," or "make me doubt, but it is," &c. The general meaning of the ſentence is ſufficiently clear; and the loſt lines at the bottom of the page muſt evidently have referred to the impoſſibility without help from fortitude of enjoying pleaſure. Concerning which compare *De Aug. Sci.* p. 697:—*Nil aut in voluptate ſolidum aut in virtute munitum, ubi timor infeſtat.*

P. 6, l. 1. *as deare y^t^ come.* So in the original tranſcript. The corrector, whoſe work I have noticed before, has altered it into "*a* deare y^t^ *is* come," and turned "ſtand" and "feede" into "ſtands" and "feedes." Evidently a grammatical crotchet: he thought one man could not be as more than one deer. But I have no doubt that Bacon wrote it as it ſtands and would not have approved of the alteration.

P. 6, l. 4. *his pleaſures be.* So in the MS. as it was firſt written: altered (not by the later pen juſt mentioned, but poſſibly by the original tranſcriber) to "his pleaſure is:" which may have been a correction from his copy, and the right reading.

P. 6, l. 6. *to nature . . . . ſo lightlie.* In the MS. the words "to nature" are repeated, and a line drawn through them; and in the next ſentence the words "[ſo] lightlie" are inſerted (in the tranſcriber's hand) in the margin. This cauſed a double difficulty in the printing; and as this is a part of the MS. which the fire has not reached, and to which (no words having to be ſupplied by conjecture) the reaſons which made it expedient in the other parts to make the place of each word in the printed line correſpond as exactly as poſſible with its place in the written line do not apply, I have taken the liberty to transfer the two firſt words of the ſeventh line to the end of the ſixth; thereby filling the blank and making room for the marginal inſertion within the line.

P. 6, l. 13. *ſo as that which ſhould ſeaſon, &c.* The MS. has "ſo as that w^ch^ ſeaſon." I have inſerted the word which the ſenſe obviouſly requires.

P. 6, l. 27. *maketh y^e^ mynde bring the workes, &c.* The word "bring" does not quite ſatisfy me. But I cannot think of another beginning with *b* which would ſuit better.

P. 6, l. 29. *thoſe extreame things called euills.* "Extreame" is certainly the word in the MS.; but I think it is a miſtake for "externe." The reconcilement of virtue with pleaſure anſwers to the compounding of civil diſſenſions; the conqueſt of "externe" or outward evils to the defeating of foreign enemies.

In the loſt lines at the bottom, the ſpeaker ſeems to have referred to the relief which nature has provided againſt exceſs of bodily ſuffering, by inducing inſenſibility; and to the fact that thoſe outward evils which it is in the power of fortune to inflict are made intolerable chiefly by apprehenſion, and can therefore be overcome by courage and patience, of which fortune cannot deprive us.

P. 7, l. 4. *Nothing is to be feared but fear itſelf.* Compare *De Aug. Sci.* Lib. VI. p. 697, "*Nil terribile niſi ipſe timor.*" Alſo *Advice to the Earl of Rutland on his travels.* "It teacheth us . . . that pain and danger be great only by opinion, and that in truth nothing is fearful but fear itſelf."—*Letters and Life, &c.* Vol. II. p. 9.

P. 7, l. 5. *For let us remember, &c.* Compare *Advice to the E. of Rutland.* "There is nothing in nature more general or more ſtrong than the fear of death, and to a natural man there is nothing ſeems more impoſſible than to reſolve againſt death. But both martyrs for religion, heathen for glory, ſome for love of their country, others for affection to one ſpecial perſon, have encountered death without fear, and ſuffered it without ſhow of alteration."—*Letters and Life, &c.* Vol. II. p. 9. Compare alſo *Eſſay of Death*; "It is no leſs worthy to obſerve how little alteration in good ſpirits the approaches of death make; for they appear to be the ſame men till the laſt inſtant. Auguſtus Cæſar died in a compliment," &c.

P. 7, l. 8. *I do wonder at the Stoicks, &c.* There appears to have been ſomething wrong here in the MS.; for the word "wonder" is inſerted in the left-hand margin by the corrector; and it is difficult to gueſs how the other line was filled up. Perhaps "I doe often," or "I cannot but." Nor am I quite ſatisfied with the filling of the blank in the next line but one; "w^{t} they [ſh^{d} ſoe urge,]" &c. But ſeveral examples occur in this very compoſition of the uſe of "what" in the ſenſe of "why;" and there can be little doubt that this was the general effect of the obſervation; which Bacon has repeated in his later writings more than once. See *Adv. of Learn.* Book II. p. 74 *b.* "And it ſeemeth to me that moſt of the doctrines of the philoſophers are more fearful and cautionary than the nature of things requireth. So have they encreaſed the feare of death in offering to cure it. For when they would have a man's whole life to be but a diſcipline or preparation to dye, they muſt needes make men thinke that it is a terrible enemy againſt whom there is no end of preparing. Better faith the Poet,

"*Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat*
Naturæ."

And again in the Eſſays, ed. 1625. "Certainly the Stoics beſtowed too much coſt upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better ſaith he, *Qui finem vitæ extremum*," &c.

P. 7, l. 10. *others ſectes.* So in MS.

P. 7, l. 14. *to live as though they continually ſhould die.* Compare *Advice to the E. of Rutland.* "That he which dies nobly doth live for ever, and he that lives in fear doth die continually."

P. 7, l. 31. *Should he have ſaid, wh . . .* I cannot fill up the blank in this line to my ſatisfaction. The problem is, to inſert between "*wh . . .*" and "*in the temple of the gods?*" in a ſpace not admitting more than fifteen letters, words ſuch as Cæſar might naturally have uttered, had it not been that they would have implied an aſſumption that "his perſon was more venerable than the place;" and I do not ſee how ſuch an aſſumption can be implied in a ſentence ending with thoſe words.

The probable import of the loſt lines at the bottom of the leaf is alſo beyond my power of divination.

P. 8, l. 2. *ympoining.* I believe the word in the MS. was meant by the tranſcriber for "ympo*m*ing;" but as there is really no difference in this handwriting between *m* and *in* except the dot, I have admitted the correction (which I owe to Mr. Aldis Wright) into the text. The word (which is from the French *empoigner*, to graſp) was then, I ſuppoſe, a candidate for admiſſion into the language, but an unſucceſsful one. I do not think I ever met with it in Engliſh anywhere elſe.

It is perhaps worth obſerving that theſe remarks on the character and death of Julius Cæſar explain a paſſage in one of Bacon's letters to Tobie Matthew, for which I had ſuggeſted an explanation ſomewhat different. Speaking of the *In felicem memoriam Elizabethæ*, he ſays, "Of this when you were here I ſhowed you ſome model; though at that time methought you were more willing to hear Julius Cæſar than Queen Elizabeth commended.—"*Letters and Life, &c.* Vol. IV. p. 133. The alluſion, no doubt, is to this paſſage, in connexion with the ſpeech which follows in praiſe of the worthieſt perſon. Not knowing that "Mr. Bacon in praiſe of his ſovereign" had anything to do with Cæſar, I thought he might have alluded to the *Imago civilis Julii Cæſaris.* See Works, Vol. VI. p. 284.

P. 8, l. 26. *I am upon the point to be made a god.* The corrector has inſerted marks of parentheſis round theſe words, ſuppoſing apparently that "if I be not deceived" belonged to the ſpeaker. But the whole ſentence is meant for Veſpaſian's ſpeech; and it was an error in the MS. that it was not all written in Roman hand, like the others.

For the whole paſſage, compare the *Eſſay of Death.* "*Auguſtus Cæſar* died in a complement; *Livia, Conjugii noſtri memor, vive et vale. Tiberius* in diſſimulation; As *Tacitus* ſaith of him; *Jam Tiberium Vires et Corpus, non Diſſimulatio, deſerebant. Veſpaſian* in a Jeſt; Sitting upon the Stoole, *ut puto Deus fio. Galba* with a Sentence; *Feri, ſi ex re ſit populi Romani,*

Holding forth his Necke. *Septimius Severus* in deſpatch; *Adeſte, ſi quid mihi reſtat agendum.* And the like."

Another anecdote illuſtrating the ſame freedom from alteration at the immediate proſpect of death, in the caſe of ſome Roman philoſopher in the time of Caligula, appears to have concluded the paragraph. But the fragments which the fire has ſpared are too ſcanty to enable me to ſupply it.

P. 9, l. 9. *Other vertues deliver us from the rule of vices,* &c. Compare *De Aug. Scient.* p. 697. "*Cæteræ virtutes nos a dominatu liberant vitiorum: fortitudo ſola a dominatu fortunæ.*"

P. 9, l. 13. *He deſerveth to be . . . . . ſpeach.* "To be *crowned for his* ſpeach" has been ſuggeſted. But there is hardly room, and it ſeems to me too common-place: the reward would have had ſome reference to the ſpeaker's doctrine.

P. 9, l. 20. *a race.* So in MS. Mr. Aldis Wright ſuggeſts *an ice,* referring to *Adv. of Learn.* p. 75. "And therefore men are to imitate the wiſedome of jewellers; who, if there be a graine, or a cloude, or an iſe, which may be ground forth without taking to much of the ſtone, they help it," &c. I have no doubt he is right; *an ice,* careleſsly written, might eaſily look like *a race.*

P. 10, l. 12. *then is the ſeaſon, the opportunitie, and the ſpring of love.* Compare *Eſſay of Love.* "This Paſſion hath his Flouds in the very times of Weakneſſe; which are, great *Proſperitie,* and great *Adverſitie*; though this latter hath beene leſſe obſerved. Both which times kindle *Love,* and make it more fervent; and therefore ſhew it to be the Childe of Folly."

P. 10, l. 18. *commend vertue fortitude.* So in MS. A miſtake, no doubt, for "the vertue."

P. 10, l. 19. *from the tirannyes of fortune.* See above, p. 9, l. 10.

P. 10, l. 21. *directed.* So in MS.; a miſtake, I think, for "diverted."

P. 10, l. 22-25. *and that's the reaſons . . . . vertue.* So in MS.; but there muſt be ſomething wrong. Some words have been omitted, or ſome interlinear inſertion has been miſunderſtood and miſplaced. Perhaps the ſentence was intended to ſtand thus:—"And that's the reaſon that barbarous cuſtoms and falſe ſuperſtitions, w^{ch} you would in no wiſe admit to be competitors with fortitude in this honor, do this notwithſtanding more eaſily and effectually than that virtue."

P. 10, l. 27. *Hercules.* Though there is hardly room in the MS. for ſo ong a word as "Hercules," and "Hero" would make ſenſe, the proverb *Ne Hercules quidem contra duos* (of which I have been reminded by Mr. Aldis Wright) ſeems to ſettle the queſtion in favour of the former.

The loſt lines at the bottom referred apparently to the appetite of the

human mind for variety, as ſhown in the taſte for travel, adventure, news, &c.

P. 11, l. 2. *gaines of chaunce.* So in MS. But I ſuppoſe it ſhould be "games." The difference would not be diſtinguiſhable except in a very clear hand.

P. 11, l. 7. *adventurers.* So in MS.; a miſtake, I preſume, for "adventures."

P. 11, l. 10. *demaund on affection.* I ſhould have preferred "demſ[onſtracon of affec]tion," but that there is hardly room for ſo many letters within the ſpace.

P. 11, l. 22. *gaole.* So in MS.: meaning "goal."

In the loſt lines at the bottom the ſpeaker appears to have referred to the pleaſure men take in ſeeing their merits reflected in the opinion of others: whence the delight of princes in favourites.

P. 12, l. 3. *One ſaid well, &c.* Compare *Eſſay of Love.* "For whereas it hath beene well ſaid, that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers have intelligence, is a Man's Selfe; certainly the *Lover* is more. For there was never Proud Man thought ſo abſurdly well of himſelfe as the *Lover* doth of the Perſon loved. And, thereſore, it was well ſaid *That it is impoſſible to love and to be wiſe.*"

P. 12, l. 15. *languiſhing and wearines.* Compare, *Vita ſine propoſito languida et vaga eſt. Adv. of Learn.* p. 73.

P. 12, l. 29. *repreſented to his imagination.* Theſe words are repeated and croſſed out in the MS.

P. 13, l. 4. *he had requited, &c.* The tranſition from the ſecond to the third perſon here is ſo abrupt and unaccountable, that I ſuſpect an error in the tranſcript. I think the remark was meant to be interpoſed by one of the other ſpeakers, B or C.

P. 13, l. 10. Oppoſite the firſt line of this ſpeech, D is inſerted in the margin of the MS. But the ink is of a different colour, and I have little doubt that it was added by the corrector, and formed no part of the original tranſcript; which does not, in any of the other caſes, diſtinguiſh the ſpeaker in this way by prefixing his letter; although he is always ſufficiently indicated in the preceding dialogue.

Throughout this ſpeech and the next, the loſt words are ſupplied from the uninjured copy now in the Britiſh Muſeum: Harl. MSS. 6797.

P. 13, l. 11. *who would not uſe ſilence.* In the MS. as it ſtood originally, "who would uſe ſilence;" "not" being inſerted between the lines in ink of a different colour.

P. 13, l. 13. *an[d knowledg mind.* The other MS. has "and the knowledge of the mind." But unleſs there was ſome interlineation, there cannot

have been ſo many words in this MS.; and it ſeems not unlikely that the obſcurity of the original, due to over condenſation, was ſuppoſed by ſome reader to be owing to the loſs of a word or two, which he thus ſupplied. But though the addition ſeems to make the ſentence eaſier, I am inclined to think that it loſes the meaning. I do not think Bacon meant to ſay that the mind *and* its knowledge, (*i. e.* the mind and the knowledge together) is the man, but that as the mind is the man, ſo knowledge *is* the mind; and if an interlineation were allowed, I would inſert "is the." "The mind is the man, and knowledge is the mind." Had this, however, been really the reading of the original, it would have been leſs eaſy to account for the alteration; for the ſentence would not have ſeemed incomplete or incorrect.

P. 13, l. 16. *a double of that which is.* Compare *Job*, chap. ii. vv. 5, 6. "But oh that God would ſpeak, and open his lips againſt thee; and that he would ſhew thee the ſecrets of wiſdom, *that they are double to that which is.*" I do not know whether the coincidence of expreſſion is enough to prove that Bacon had this paſſage in his mind; but it is one in which it ſeems to me very likely that he would find the meaning expreſſed in the text. Knowledge is the reflected image of the thing itſelf. The mind is only the reflector.

P. 13, l. 16-19. *Are the pleaſures of the affections . . . . facietie.* Compare *Advancement of Learning*, Book I. p. 43 *b*,—"For ſhall the pleaſures of the affections ſo exceede the pleaſure of the ſenſe, as much as the obtayning of deſire or victorie exceedeth a ſong or a dinner? and muſt not of conſequence the pleaſures of the intellect or underſtanding exceede the pleaſures of the affections? we ſee in all other pleaſures there is facietie; and after they be uſed their verdour departeth. . . . . But of knowledge there is no facietie, but ſatisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable."

P. 13, l. 19. *Is not that knowledge alone, &c.* So in MS. The other MS. has "Is it not knowledge alone, &c.; which ſeems to be the better reading.

P. 13, l. 22. *theſe be the clowdes, &c.* In the MS. a line is drawn through "theſe," but, I think, by a later pen; and it looks like a critic's correction.

P. 13, l. 25. *a reſpect.* So in this MS. The other has "proſpect: which is the form of the word always uſed by Bacon in his later writings; "reſpect" being appropriated to the ſenſe of "conſideration." It is found, however, nearly in the ſame ſenſe it has here, in a thing of the ſame kind written a year or two after; and it is probably no error; but only a uſe of the word which cuſtom did not take up. The firſt counſellor of the Prince of Purpoole (*Geſta Greyorum*, p. 33) ſays, "in your later Years you ſhall find a ſweet Reſpect into the Adventures of your Youth:" uſing the word much as we now uſe *retroſpect;* a looking back upon. Here it is uſed for looking

down upon; as in the famous paſſage of Lucretius, which Bacon was, no doubt, thinking of. See *Adv. of Learn.* Book I. p. 44.

P. 14, l. 1. *or the arte of reaſon, &c.* Here we have the true explanation of a very obſcure paſsage in Stephens' MS., where the ſentence ſtands thus:—"I do not doubt but that common notions, which we call reaſon, and the knitting of them together, which we call logic, *are the art of reaſon and ſtudies.*" The words "may have uſe in popular" had been omitted by ſome tranſcriber. Then ſome reader, finding the ſentence incomplete and unintelligible, reſtored the ſyntax by altering "or" into "are," and inſerting "and" between "reaſon" and "ſtudies;" after which it would have required a very ſagacious critic to recover the writer's real meaning; which without the correction would not have been at all hopeleſs.

P. 14, l. 30. *and Saturn leaveth behind him Jupiter.* This clauſe is omitted in Stephens' MS.

P. 14, l. 34. *know not ſeaſon.* There is a difference of readings here, which cauſes a difficulty: the other MS. has "in ſort that pretending to know much, I ſhould *forget what is ſeaſonable.*" Now in this MS. the words are diſtinctly "I ſhould know:" the reſt of the line being burnt away, the next beginning with "me," and there being room between, without interlineation, for ſixteen or eighteen letters at moſt. The "me" in the next line implies ſome verb preceding, and the authority of the other MS. makes "pardon" the moſt likely. But in that caſe how is the other ſentence to be completed? "Know not what is fit," or "know not ſeaſon," would either of them make ſenſe; but that is all I can ſay for either.

P. 15, l. 4. *aſſeuer.* The other MS. has "anſwer," but "aſsever,"—that is, as we ſhould now write it, "aſsert,"—is clearly the right word.

P. 15, l. 5. *reſting in a part of nature.* So in this MS. The other has "in part of nature," which is probably right.

P. 15, l. 6. *haue ben in things, &c.* There is ſomething wrong here again. But I do not feel ſo confident that the other MS., which reads "*the* things" for "*in* things," ſupplies in this case the true correction. It makes ſenſe. But "things" does not ſeem ſo decidedly the fitteſt word, as to have reconciled Bacon's ear to the admiſsion of it between "things" in the line before, and "things" in the line after.

P. 15, l. 32. *merriting the times.* So in MS. The other has "merriting of."

P. 16, l. 9. *revnite.* The word in the MS. was meant, I think, by the tranſcriber for "revince." But the difference between the two, in a black-letter hand, is ſo very ſmall, *v* being often uſed for *u* as well as *u* for *v*, and *inc* differing from *nit* only in the place of the dot, that I have not thought it neceſsary to preſerve the error in the text.

P. 16, l. 12. *proceedinges.* In MS. as in text. The plural "proceedinges" was poſsibly intended, the ſingular verb which follows notwithſtanding.

P. 16, l. 20. *amitie.* It is doubtful here whether "amities" or "amitie" is the real reading of the MS. The final *s* appears to have been either put in or blotted out.

P. 16, l. 25. *aunſwerablee.* So in MS; but probably by a ſlip of the pen.

P. 17, l. 4. *in that countenaunce.* Theſe words are inſerted in the margin, but in the hand of the original tranſcriber.

P. 17, l. 10. *her p̄ſence in campe.* In Mr. Motley's *Hiſtory of the United Netherlands*, Vol. II. p. 512, there is a paſsage relating to Queen Elizabeth's appearance at Tilbury, which I gladly take this opportunity of noticing, becauſe it tends indirectly and unintentionally to throw undeſerved diſcredit upon a very deſerving man. "Great (he ſays) was the enthuſiaſm certainly of the Engliſh people as the volunteers marched through London to the place of rendezvous, and tremendous were the cheers when the brave Queen rode on horſeback along the lines of Tilbury. . . . . 'It was a pleaſant ſight,' *ſays that enthuſiaſtic merchant-taylor John Stow*, 'to behold the cheerful countenances, courageous words, and geſtures, of the ſoldiers, as they marched to Tilbury, dancing, leaping wherever they came, as joyful at the news of the foe's approach as if luſty giants were to run a race. And Bellona-like did the Queen infuſe a ſecond ſpirit of loyalty, love, and reſolution, into every ſoldier of her army, who, raviſhed with their ſovereign's ſight, prayed heartily that the Spaniards might land quickly, and when they heard they were fled, began to lament." This he gives as if it were an extract from Stow's Chronicle; and then proceeds to remark that at the time of Elizabeth's appearance in the camp there was no longer any danger to be apprehended. "If a Spaniſh army had ever landed in England at all, that event would have occurred on the 7th of Auguſt. . . . . For aught that Leiceſter, or Burghley, or Queen Elizabeth knew at the time, the army of Farnese might, on Monday, have been marching upon London. Now on that Monday morning the army of Lord Hunſdon was not aſsembled at all, and Leiceſter, with but four thouſand men under his command, was juſt commencing his camp at Tilbury. The "Bellona-like" appearance of the Queen on her white palfrey, with truncheon in hand, addreſſing her troops in that magnificent burſt of eloquence which has ſo often been repeated, was not till eleven days afterwards, Auguſt $\frac{9}{19}$; not till the great Armada, ſhattered and tempeſt-toſsed, had been, a week long, daſhing itſelf againſt the cliffs of Norway and the Faröes on its forlorn retreat to Spain." (p. 514.)

Had this paſsage not been given as a *quotation* from John Stow himſelf, I ſhould not have thought it worth noticing. If the Queen had been in perſonal danger at Tilbury, ſhe would have had no right, except in a laſt

extremity, to be there: and it was no fault of hers that a fine writer chofe to compare her to Bellona. But though Elizabeth's reputation is not concerned, Stow's is; and if this be accepted as a fpecimen of the ftyle of his "Chronicle," it muft materially affect the reputation of that valuable work. The fact appears to be, that Mr. Motley, ufing one of the later editions of Stow, "continued and augmented with matters foreign and domeftic, ancient and modern," by Howes, and not remembering that additional matter may be inferted in the middle of a book as well as at the end, aſſumed that in quoting the defcription of a fcene which occurred long before Stow's death, he was quoting Stow himfelf. But this is not fo. The paſſage in queſtion, the ſubſtance of it at leaſt, may be ſeen in Nichols's *Progreſſes of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. II. p. 534; where it ſeems to be taken from an account in ſome contemporary tract, the title of which is not given, of the preparations for reſiſting the Spaniſh invaſion. This account was worked up by Howes, or ſome other unſkilful redactor (for the fragments are very badly pieced together), and interpolated into the chronicle; but Stow's own account of the matter is in quite a different ſtyle. In an old black-letter copy, publiſhed by himſelf, and bringing the hiſtory up to the year 1592, the account of the Queen's viſit to the camp at Tilbury, ſtands thus:—

"Now (as you have heard before) the campe in this meane time, being kept at Tilbury in Eſſex, under the charge of the erle of Leiceſter L. Steward, &c.; the 9 of Auguſt, hir Majeſty repaired thither, where al the whole campe being ſet in order of battell, both horſe and footemen, ſhe paſſed through every ranke of them, to their great comfort and rejoycing, and was lodged that night and the night next following, in the houſe of Maſter Edward Rich, a juſtice of that ſhire, in the pariſh of Hornedon. On the next morrow, being the tenth of Auguſt, hir majeſty returning to the campe, beheld the ſame, they being all trained in the beſt order that might be, and on the eleventh of Auguſt returned to Saint James', and ſhortely after the campe was diſſolved."

If too much was made of the matter, it was clearly not the fault of John Stow. But though Mr. Motley may not have exaggerated the danger that was paſt, I cannot but think that he rather undervalues that which remained. On the 10th of Auguſt, while the Queen was ſtill at the camp, Sir Francis Drake himſelf wrote thus to Sir Francis Walſingham:—"The Prince of Parma, I take him to be as a beare robbed of her whelps; and no doubt but being ſo great a ſoldiour as he is, that he will preſently, if he may, undertake ſome great matter, for his credit will ſtand nowe thereupon. . . . . Wrytten with much haſte, for that we are ready to ſet ſayl to prevent the Duke of Parma this ſoutherly wynd, if it pleaſe God, for truly my poor opinion is that we ſhould have a great eye upon him.

"Auguſt 10th 1588.

" *Poſtſcript.* Sithens the wryting herof, I have ſpoken with an Engliſhman which came from Dunkirk yeſterday, who ſayth, upon his life there is no fear of the fleet. Yet would I willingly ſee it!"[1]

P. 17, l. 32. *adge.* So originally in the MS. A later pen has croſſed it out and written "age" above.

P. 17, l. 36-7. *or that the Commonwealth. . . . clemencie.* So in Stephens' MS. But there is evidently ſomething wrong. My conjecture was that a whole clauſe had dropped out, ſomething to this effect:—" Will it beſt appear in the injuries that were done unto her before ſhe attained the crown, *when clemency, as affecting herſelf alone, might be freely uſed,* or after ſhe is ſeated on her throne, and that the Commonwealth is incorporated in her perſon? Then clemency is drawn in queſtion," &c. And it will be obſerved that in this MS. there is room for another line; the page as it ſtands having one line leſs than the preceding, and two leſs than the following.

P. 18, l. 3. *of the wrongs.* So originally in the MS.; but "of" has been ſtruck out by a later pen: I doubt whether rightly. "Reſent" without "of" belongs I ſuſpect to a later ſtage of the language.

P. 18, l. 7. *that princes. . . . . themſelves.* Theſe words are all in Roman hand in this MS., as being the principle ſpoken of. Stephens' MS. gives it differently, and perhaps rightly; "notwithſtanding that principle that princes ſhould not neglect (that the Commonwealth's wrong is included in themſelves)," &c.

P. 18, l. 27. *the myne.* So written in the MS. plainly enough; but it ſhould be "mynt."

P. 18, l. 36. *compaſſions.* All that follows from this word to the end of p. 20, is ſupplied from Stephens' MS.; a whole leaf having been loſt out of this.

P. 19, l. 7. *excepted.* So in MS.; a miſtake, I preſume, for "accepted." On the 11th of March 1586-7, a Committee of the Houſe of Commons was appointed to confer with the Lords and invite them to join "in a contribution or Benevolence for the charges of the Low Countries' wars, which they of the Houſe of Commons meant to offer unto her Majeſty." (Dr. Ewes, p. 386.) The Lords declined, and it was reſolved that each Houſe ſhould proceed by itſelf. On the 18th the Queen gave audience on the ſubject to a committee of the Houſe of Commons, (Id. p. 416), at which, as no more was heard of it, I conclude that the offer was made and declined. See *Letters and Life of Bacon,* Vol. I. p. 65.

---

[1] Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times. Vol. II. p. 389.

P. 19, l. 9. *ſales.* The MS. has "*failts* of land," and it is ſo printed in Stephens' collection; but I think the word muſt have been "ſales."

P. 20, l. 3-4. *Tutus, &c.* The MS. has *cura* and *ſeges.*

P. 20, l. 20. *the merit of her neyghbors.* So MS. It ſhould probably be "her merit;" but at any rate it means what ſhe has merited of her neighbours, not what her neighbours have merited.

P. 20, l. 21. *tymes.* "Things" in MS., a miſtake very eaſily made in the handwriting of that time.

P. 20, l. 27. *not remiße of affayres from kings.* So in MS. There muſt be ſomething wrong: I had ſuggeſted "not in commiſſion of affairs from kings;" but I am not at all ſatisfied with the conjecture.

P. 20, l. 31. *the auncient nobilitie of this realme.* So MS. It ought, apparently to be "*that* realm;" for "this realm" would be England, which cannot have been meant.

P. 20, l. 35. *reſtored the nobilitie to their degree.* Alluding to the peace concluded in July 1560.

P. 20, l. 40. *ſought and required.* So in the MS. The clauſe "by the king's beſt and trueſt ſervants" appears to have dropped out. See *Letters and Life of Bacon*, Vol. I. pp. 133 (note 1) 187.

P. 20, l. 4 *w^ch place. . . . ſinceritie.* The MS. has "with peace" and "ſecuritie," and ſo it is printed in Stephens' collection. The corrections are my own conjectures, but I preſume there can be no doubt about them; unleſs "piece" be preferred to "place." Compare *Obſervations on a Libel*; "which forces of her Majeſty prevailed ſo far as to be poſſeſſed of the Caſtle of Edinburgh, the principal *piece* of that kingdom; which nevertheleſs her Majeſty incontinently with all honour and *ſincerity* reſtored, after ſhe had put the king into good and faithful hands; and ſo ever ſince in all the occaſions of inteſtine troubles, whereunto that nation hath been ever ſubject, ſhe hath performed unto the king all poſſible good offices, and ſuch as he doth with all good affection acknowledge." *Letters and Life of Bacon*, Vol. I. p. 188. The MS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, which is the only authority for this part of the ſpeech, is ſo full of inaccuracies, that I have not thought it neceſſary to treat it with the ſame reſpect which I have uſed towards the Northumberland Houſe MS. and preſerve even the errors in the text.

P. 21, l. 1. *Faithful bandes.* We have ſeen ſome inſtances in which the corrector of the Northumberland Houſe MS. (to which we now return) has endeavoured to improve the ſtyle. In this place he appears to have diſapproved the ſenſe; for he has ſubſtituted "faithleſs" for "faithful," and drawn a line through the remainder of the ſentence. Without knowing what alteration he had made in the beginning, it is impoſſible to know what ſenſe he had ſubſtituted. But it looks as if he could not allow that Elizabeth

was to be praiſed for her care of James. There can be no doubt that the paſſage as it ſtands gives the ſenſe which Bacon himſelf intended; ſee the quotation in the laſt note from his *Obſervations on a Libel.* The occaſion referred to was in the year 1573, during the troubles ariſing from the aſſaſſination of the Regent Murray.

P. 21, l. 10. *called in their aydes.* In this MS. the word is certainly "their." The other has "her," which appears to be right. Compare the correſponding paſſage in *Obſervations on a Libel*: "And to their aids called in her Majeſty's forces, giving them for ſecurity the town of Newhaven," &c. *Letters and Life of Bacon,* Vol. I. p. 188.

P. 21, l. 12. *to the ſupplanting of his own ſtrength.* The letters "-ting," at the beginning of line 13, leave little room for doubt that "ſupplanting" is the true reading, inſtead of "ſuppliants," which is the reading of the other MS.; and of which I had myſelf propoſed to make ſenſe by ſubſtituting "whoſe name was uſed to *her by* the ſuppliants of *her* ſtrength," for "whoſe name was uſed to the ſuppliants of his ſtrength." But this, though it gave an intelligible meaning, was odd in the expreſſion and by no means ſatisfactory. In what way the young king's name was uſed "to the *ſupplanting* of his own ſtrength," is ſufficiently explained in a "Declaration" of the Queen's proceedings, publiſhed by authority in the year 1562, and printed in Stow's Chronicle (p. 1104, ed. 1592), "and yet could not her M. diſcontinue her good intent, but, ſeeing the cruelties increaſe, the blood-ſhedding and murders continue; yea, which was moſt perillous, the yong king and the Q. his mother being ſodainly aſſailed and found without force, *were directed and drawn altogether by the very authors of the troubles to ſuffer their name and authority to be abuſed, even to the killing of the king's own unarmed innocent people, the ſpoiling of his rich towns, the breaking of his beſt-adviſed Edicts, the perſecuting of his owne blood and his nobility, the deſtroying of his faithfull approoved ſervants, with many other ſuch heapes of miſchiefs.*" &c. Concerning the occaſion of this declaration we find in Burghley's Diary, under the date 27th September 1562 the following note: "The Queen's majeſty took unto her protection the French king's ſubjects in Normandy, being oppreſſed by the tyranny of the Houſe of Guiſe; and publiſhed a declaration printed."

P. 21, l. 16. *joined themſelves againſt.* So MS. The other has "againſt her," which is probably right.

P. 21, l. 19. *and by the hand of God.* The word "and" appears to have been ſtruck out by the tranſcriber; as if he had been about to omit the clauſe, and corrected himſelf as he went on. But it is not quite clear.

P. 22, l. 6. *wherein not the criminous death of Guiſe.* The word "death" appears to have been ſtruck out in the MS. by the tranſcriber's pen, at leaſt in ink of the ſame colour as the reſt. The other MS. has "not wherein the criminous bloude of Guiſe," &c.

P. 22, l. 7. *revenged.* The end of the parenthesis which begins at "wherein" is not marked in the MS.

P. 22, l. 11. *p̄ſerved.* The other MS. has "preferred."

P. 22, l. 13-4. *w^th treaſure.* Theſe words are repeated in the MS. A later pen has drawn a line through the firſt "treaſure."

P. 22, l. 15. *the offring Don Ant. to his fortune.* The corrector's pen, diſtinguiſhable both by the hand and the colour of the ink, has ſubſtituted "*her endevo^r to ſettle* Don Ant. *in* his fortune." The alluſion is to the expedition againſt Spain under Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake in 1589. "*Don Antonio* (ſays Camden), baſe-borne, *Prior* of *Crato*, with a few *Portugalls* joyned with them, who clayming the Kingdome of *Portugall* by popular election, (whereby even Baſtards have been choſen Kings by the Law of that Country,) had loaden the *Engliſh* with great promiſes, being full of hope to recouer his Kingdome by the helpe of theſe auxiliary forces, the revolt of the *Portugalls* from the *Spaniard*, and the ayde of *Muley Hamet* King of *Morocco*."

P. 22, l. 19. *by the hands of her reputacon.* "Hand℘" in this MS. the other has "beames."

The occaſion referred to was in 1590. See a letter from William Cecil, Burghley's grandſon, to Lord Talbot, 23rd of October, 1590. "The Turk had not he been prevented by our ambaſſador, intended to ſet upon the King of Poland with ſixty thouſand men; but underſtanding her Majeſty had great need of many things from the country neceſſary for her navy, he withdrew his force, though he were aſſured of victory, only for her Majeſty's ſake; who received great thanks from the King of Poland; and the Turk himſelf hath written to her Majeſty letters with moſt great titles, aſſuring her that if ſhe would write her letters to him to require him, he will make the King of Spain humble himſelf to her." *Lodge's Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory*, Vol. II. p. 414.

P. 22, l. 31. *w^th one chardge, &c.* That is, without incurring any greater charge, danger, or offence to the King of Spain, than ſhe incurred as it was. The other MS. has "*without* charge, danger," &c., for which (to make it intelligible) I had ſuggeſted "*not* without." But "with *one*" is clearly the right reading. The correſponding paſſage in the *Obſervations on a Libel*—"with *all one* charge," &c.—may be right too, and would have the ſame meaning.

P. 22, l. 33. *a people that, &c.* So MS. The other MS. has "*to that* people that hath been purſued by their natural king only *upon* paſſion and wrath, in ſuch ſort that *he doth conſume* his means upon revenge;" the clauſe about *aratro jaculari* being omitted. The words "according to y^e" are ſupplied by conjecture.

In reading "upon paſſion" inſtead of "by paſſion," the other MS. is probably right.

P. 23, l. 6. *ſhe bare y^e ſaid Duke.* In the MS., as originally written, there was ſomething omitted here. The words were "ſhe ſaid Duke." A later pen, with different ink, has inſerted "*did beare y^e*" between "ſhe" and "ſaid." The inſertion being preſumably the corrector's conjecture, I preferred "bare" as a word that would do equally well, and might be introduced into the line without interlineation.

P. 23, l. 13. *But now he doth, &c.* This device appears to have been firſt practiſed upon the election of Gregory XIV (December, 1590). It was repeated on that of Innocent IX. (October, 1591), and Clement VIII (January, 1591-2); though in the laſt caſe it was only partially ſucceſsful. See *Ranke's Hiſtory of the Popes*, Book VI.

P. 23, l. 16. *interrupte.* So MS. The other MS. has "intermixt."

P 23, l. 23. *upon Arragon.* On the 8th of September, 1592, Anthony Standen writes to Anthony Bacon that "the citadel of Shuta, in Arragon, the frontier of France and Bearn, was already put into a ſtate of defence, and three hundred ſoldiers in it; and at Saragoſsa, the metropolis of that kingdom, they were building another citadel: ſo that Arragon might be ſaddled whenever they pleaſed, being already bridled." *Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth*, Vol. I. p. 84.

P. 23, l. 25. *in a contrary courſe are brought, &c.* So the MS. as originally written. A later pen has inſerted the words "by it men" before "are:" evidently the conjectural correction of a critic, to make the conſtruction regular. But the irregularity is natural, and the correction is clumſy. Bacon might eaſily have written the ſentence as it ſtands, but I cannot eaſily believe that he wrote it as corrected.

P. 23, l. 36. *disfortunes.* So in the MS. originally. A line has been drawn through the word by a later pen, and "misfortunes" written above it. But we have had the word "disfortune" before: ſee p. 5, l. 13; and it is leſs likely that the ſame miſtake would have been made twice over in the uſual word, than that an unuſual form was for ſome reaſon preferred.

P. 24, l. 32. *longe to think.* The tranſcriber having by miſtake written "tonge" for "longe," a later pen has ſubſtituted "tyme:" an unlucky conjecture.

P. 24, l. 39. *was received.* The other MS. has "is received." I think it ought to be "was conceived."

P. 24, laſt line. *no ſmall diſadvantage.* The other MS. (which is our only authority for this paſsage) has "no diſadvantage;" which cannot be right.

P. 25, l. 9. *a pointe wherin her father, &c.* The other MS. has "her

exquiſite judgment in chooſing and finding good ſervants (a point beyond the former),"—the intermediate clauſe having dropped out. The tranſcriber's eye, in returning to the word "ſervants," at which it had left off, lighted upon the ſame word in the next line; and ſo produced a corruption of the text, which it would have been hardly poſſible to correct by any conjecture.

P. 25, l. 11. *a profound diſcretion.* The other MS. has "*her* profound diſcretion," which is probably right.

P. 25, l. 14. *intentive witt.* So in MS. The other has "inventing wit." The true reading probably is "inventive."

P. 25, l. 14. *and overtournes.* In MS. originally as in the text. A later pen has ſubſtituted "overtures:" one of many miſcorrections by the ſame correcting hand.

P. 25, l. 15. *her ſecreacie.* Here is another good inſtance of the way in which texts become hopeleſsly corrupt. The other MS. has "her exact caution in cenſuring the propoſitions of others, her *ſervice.*" Stephens (or whoever prepared that part of his ſecond collection for the preſs,) ſeeing that *ſervice* had no meaning in that context, made very good ſenſe of the paſsage by ſimply inſerting "for," and left it in a condition apparently needing no correction whatever. But we now ſee that the real error of the tranſcriber was not the omiſſion of "for," but the miſtaking of "ſecreacie" for "ſervice."

P. 25, l. 20. *hath notwithſtanding done ſuch great things.* So the other MS.; and ſo the words may have ſtood originally in this. The later pen has inſerted after "notwithſtanding" the word "brought," and what elſe we cannot know, the reſt of the paper being burnt off. I imagine that he thought "brought to paſs" would be better than "done." But as the "d" is diſtinctly legible, and it is impoſſible to ſay that the next letter was not "o," I ſee no reaſon to doubt that the reading of the other MS. gives us here the original reading of this.

P. 25, l. 21. *Let no man object.* Here we have another inſtance of a ſcarcely curable corruption due to the ordinary accident of a clauſe dropped out. The tranſcriber of the other MS. having written as far as "fortune" in the 21ſt line, and turning again to his copy, lighted on "fortune" in the 22nd line, and went on. The ſentence then ſtood, "to ſpeak of her fortune that which I did reſerve for a garland of her honour, and that is that ſhe liveth a virgin and hath no children, *ſoe* it is that which" &c., a ſentence in which, as there was evidently ſomething wrong, it was natural to ſuſpect the omiſſion of a clauſe; and the word "ſoe" having nothing to anſwer it, ſuggeſted one beginning with "as": ſomething to this effect, "*as* there is but one point in which it ſeems incomplete, ſo it is that" &c. It now appears however, that "ſoe" is itſelf a corruption, the true reading being "for";

which the tranſcriber mis-read into " ſoe," becauſe it left the ſentence leſs obviouſly unintelligible. Had " ſor" been retained, the real correction, or ſomething like it, might poſſibly have been hit upon. With " ſo," it was impoſſible, becauſe it would not have given a natural ſenſe. As it ſtands now, there can be little doubt that the reſtoration is complete.

P. 25, l. 30. *impoſthumes.* The other MS. (which has " forthumus" for " Poſthumus" at the beginning of this line) has " impoſtors." But there is no doubt that " impoſthumes" is the right word. Compare *Apophthegmes new and old*, No. 246, p. 266. " Auguſtus Cæſar, out of great indignation againſt his two daughters, and Poſthumus Agrippa, his grandchild; whereof the firſt two were infamous, and the laſt otherwiſe unworthy, would ſay: *That they were not his ſeed, but ſome impoſtumes that had broken from him.*"

P. 26, l. 11. *though ſome think, &c.* Compare *Obſervations on a Libel*, (*Letters and Life, &c.*, Vol. I. p. 186). " Yet if you will believe the Genueſe (who otherwiſe writeth much to the honour and advantage of the Kings of Spain), it ſeemeth he had a good mind to make himſelf a way into that kingdom, ſeeing that (for that purpoſe as he reporteth) he did artificially nouriſh the young King Sebaſtian in the voyage of Africa, expecting that overthrow which followed." The Genuese was, I preſume, *Signor Jeronimo de Franchi Coneſtaggio gentilhuomo Genoveſe*, who publiſhed a hiſtory *Dell' Unione del Regno di Portogallo alla Corona di Caſtiglia*, in 1585.

P. 26, l. 16. *excuc̃on.* So in MS.

P. 26, l. 22. *and the ffr: K.: durſt never have layd hands on him, &c.* In the MS. the mark for the beginning of the parentheſis is placed further on, between " him" and " had." But it is plain that it ought to be where I have placed it.

P. 26, l. 30. *adviſe.* So in MS. The other MS. has " ſhee contrariwiſe . . . . adviſed him;" in which " adviſed " is probably right.

P. 26, l. 34. *ſending in of Seminaries.* The other MS. has " ſending in *moſt* ſeminaries," a reading which I had noticed as containing ſomething wrong, but tried in vain to correct. The correction would have been obvious if I had obſerved how eaſily, in the black letter hand of that day, *in of* might be miſtaken for *moſt*.

P. 26, l. 39. *Dawbeny.* The other MS. which is our only authority here, has " *Darleigh.*" But the name of the Duke of Lenox alluded to was D'Aubigny; commonly ſpelt Dawbeny or Dawbeney.

P. 27, l. 8. *Newhaven.* The clauſe " I ſay Newhaven" has been omitted by the tranſcriber of the other MS. And the omiſſion has cauſed a miſunderſtanding of the conſtruction, and a ſecond miſreading. In Stephens' ſecond collection the ſentence is printed and pointed thus: " What ſhould I

recount Leith and Newhaven for the honorable ſkirmiſhes and ſervices? *They* are noe blemiſh at all to the Militia of England?" The fact was that the buſineſs of *Newbaven* had been unfortunate, and could not be mentioned among the felicities without explanation and apology.

"Leeth" means the ſiege of Leith in 1560, when England aſſiſted Scotland to expel the French who had been brought in by the Guiſe party.

P. 27, l. 9. *the Lammas day.* The action alluded to does not figure in our hiſtories under this name. But we have a full account of it by Bacon himſelf in his *Conſiderations touching a war with Spain*, written in 1624. "In the yeare 1578 was that famous *Lammas Day*, which buried the reputation of *Don Jhuan d'Auſtria*, himſelfe not ſuruiuing long after. *Don Jhuan*, being ſuperiour in Forces, aſſiſted by the *Prince* of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, *Manſell*, and other the beſt Commanders of *Spaine*, confident of Victory, charged the Army of the *States* neere *Rimenant*, brauely & furiouſly at the firſt; But, after a Fight, maintained by the ſpace of a whole day, was repulſed, and forced to a Retrait with great ſlaughter of his Men; And the Courſe of his further Enterprizes was wholly arreſted; and this chiefly by the Proweſſe and Vertue of the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Troupes, under the Conduct of *Sir John Norris* and *Sir Robert Stuart*, Colonels. Which Troupes came to the Army but the day before, harraſed with a long and weariſome march, and (as it is left for a memorable circumſtance in all Stories) the Souldiers, being more ſenſible of a little Heat of the Sunne, than of any cold Feare of Death, caſt away their Armour, and Garments from them, and fought in their Shirts: And, as it was generally conceived, had it not beene that the *Count* of *Boſſu* was ſlacke in charging the Spaniards upon their Retreit, this Fight had ſorted to an abſolute Defeat." *Certaine Miſcellany Works of the Right Honourable Francis Lo. Verulam, Viſcount S. Alban. Publiſhed by William Rawley, Doctor of Divinity, one of his Maieſties Chaplaines.* London, 1629, p. 34.

P. 27, l. 9. *The retrait of Gante.* "In the yeare 1582, was that Memorable *Retreit* of *Gaunt;* Than the which there hath not beene an *Exploit* of *Warre* more celebrated. For in the true judgment of Men of *Warre*, honourable Retraits are no wayes inferiour to brave Charges; as having leſſe of Fortune, more of Diſcipline, and as much of Valour. There were to the number of 300 Horſe, and as many Thouſand Foot *Engliſh*, (commanded by Sir *John Norris*,) charged by the Prince of *Parma*, comming upon them with 7000 Horſe: beſides that the whole Army of *Spaniards* was ready to march on. Nevertheleſs Sir *John Norris* maintained a *Retreit* without Diſarray, by the ſpace of ſome miles, (part of the way champagne,) unto the City of *Gaunt*, with leſs loſs of Men than the enemy. The D. of Anjou and the Prince of Aurange, beholding this noble action from the *Wals* of *Gaunt*, as in a Theatre, with great admiration." Id. p. 38.

P. 27, l. 9. *the day at Sutphen.* This was the action of 22 September, 1589, in which Sir Philip Sidney received his mortal wound: and it is ſtrange that Bacon in his *Conſiderations touching a war with Spain*, where he is producing evidence to prove that "in all actions of war or arms, great and ſmall, which have happened theſe many years, ever ſince Spain and England have had anything to debate one with the other, the Engliſh upon all encounters have perpetually come off with honour and with the better," ſhould have forgotten to mention it. For whatever elſe may be ſaid of it, there was never any which proved more ſignally the ſuperiority of the Engliſh troops in an "encounter." The odds were in fact ſo great that it is difficult to underſtand either how ſo experienced a ſoldier as Sir John Norris (who was in command of the ſervice and led the charge) could have riſked an engagement on ſuch conditions, or how ſo great a commander as the Prince of Parma could have failed to improve the opportunity to their utter deſtruction. "If you ſaw the ground," ſaid the Earl of Leiceſter, writing to Walſingham, a week after from the camp, "with the numbers of the enemy, and the advantage they had of the ground, you would marvel that even any one man eſcaped of our ſide." Yet what is certain is that 250 horſe and 300 foot of the Engliſh attacked upwards of a thouſand horſe and two or three thouſand foot of the Spaniſh, in a ſtrong poſition and prepared to receive them, and after a hand to hand fight of an hour and a half, within ſhort range of the enemy's muſkets, drew off in good order, with the loſs of only 13 horſemen and 22 footmen, and were not purſued.

The Engliſh reports are ſo much occupied with the perſonal exploits of the ſeveral knights in that fierce encounter, that they take no notice of the difficulty, and inſtead of ſupplying a ſatisfactory explanation, ſcarcely leave room for one. But in Grimeſtone's *Hiſtory of the Netherlands*, (a tranſlation from John Francis Petit) I find an account of the action, which, though the conſtruction is in ſeveral places obſcure, makes the conduct of it intelligible.

"The Prince of Parma fearing that the Earl of Leiceſter might do ſomething againſt Zutphen . . . . . went to Bunckloo, from whence he ſent certain victuals into Zutphen, going himſelf in perſon with his vanguard; which the Earl of Leiceſter, knowing that the town was not yet fully victualled, he thought the next time they victualled it to ſet upon the convoy: whereunto he appointed Sir John Norris and Sir William Stanley, with certain foot, and others with ſome troops of horſemen. The 22 of September, in the morning betimes, the Prince of Parma cauſed more victuals to be ſent unto Zutphen with the ſame convoy of his vanguard as they had before; being 6 or 700 horſe, and 2,000 pikes and muſketeers. They ſtaying in a ſtrong place, by a village called Warnſvelt, half a mile from the town; and ſo let the carts and wagons paſs along: which being diſcovered by a troop of

30 horſe, Sir John Norris, the Earl of Eſſex, the Lord Willoughby, Sir William Stanley, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir William Ruſſell, and others, rode thither, with about 200 horſe and 1,500 muſketeers and pikes, *meeting with their enemies before they expected them, by reaſon it was then very miſty:* they of the Prince of Parma's ſide, led by the Marquis of Guaſt [Vaſto], upon their watch-word given, began to ſhoot furiouſly out of their ambuſcadoes, being a place of great advantage, as if it had been a ſconce: which they on the Earl of Leiceſter's ſide manfully withſtood, not any one once retiring out of his place, to the no little amazement of the enemy, which being paſt, *and the enemy not knowing how ſtrong the Engliſhmen were,* and perceiving them to advance, they ſent out a cornet of horſe under the leading of Captain George Creſſier, an Albanois, which was preſently overthrown, and the Captain himſelf taken priſoner; after that they ſent Count Hannibal Gonzaga with his cornet of horſe, the which was likewiſe valiantly charged, put to rout, and part thereof ſlain, and he himſelf ſlain, or deadly wounded; they purſued the reſt cloſe under their ſhot, where the third cornet made ſhew to come to charge them; but it being likewiſe driven back, they parted one from the other, in regard that the Prince of Parma began to ſend more men to ſtrengthen them . . . . . whereupon the Engliſh, *not knowing how ſtrong the enemy was,* withdrew themſelves unto their camp, and ſo did the Prince of Parma unto his." (Lib. 13, p. 926.)

Except for a difference as to numbers (which ſhows that this account did not come from the Engliſh ſide, for the numbers of the Spaniſh convoy are diminiſhed by about a third, and thoſe of the Engliſh infantry increaſed five fold)—there is nothing here inconſiſtent with the facts which come out in the letters of the Earl of Leiceſter: namely, that the ſervice committed to Sir John Norris was only the interception of a convoy; that there was no expectation of ſuch a force coming with it, nor any preparation for ſuch an encounter; that the Engliſh troops, advancing through a fog, came ſuddenly upon "an ambuſcade" of 3,000 men, "the moſt muſkets, the reſt pikes;" that the Engliſh horſemen being foremoſt "would not turn, but paſſed through,"—that is, as I underſtand it, paſſed through the fire of the infantry —"and charged the Horſemen that flede (*ſic*) at the back of their Footemen,"—that is, charged the cavalry, which had withdrawn to leave the paſſage clear for the muſketeers to fire,—and that this charge was mainly aſſiſted by thoſe principal noblemen and gentlemen, who having been ſtaying by the Earl of Leiceſter in the miſt, as ſoon as they knew where the fighting was to be, "went on till they found Sir John Norris; to whom" (adds the Earl) "I had committed this ſervice only to have impeached a convoy; but he, ſeeing theſe young fellows, indeed, led them to this charge, and all theſe joined in front together," &c. (*Leyceſter correſpondence.* Camd. Soc. p. 416).

The expreſſion "*went on till they found* Sir John Norris," coming as it does immediately after the mention of *the miſt* in which they were ſtaying, ſeems to imply rather that the miſt continued than that it had diſperſed. And it is a circumſtance of ſome importance. Both Mr. Bruce and Mr. Motley repreſent it as ſuddenly clearing off. "Suddenly," ſays Mr. Motley, "the fog, which had ſhrouded the ſcene ſo cloſely, rolled away like a curtain, and in the full light of an October morning, the Engliſh found themſelves face to face with a compact body of more than three thouſand men," (ii. p. 50). Now it may be that there is ſome contemporary authority for that picturesque incident: but I find no trace of it in any of the original Engliſh reports, and picturesque incidents, being eaſily imagined, require the more confirmation. Unleſs there is very good authority for ſaying that the fog cleared away before the fight began, I ſhall believe that it took place while the fog was ſtill thick enough to prevent either party from ſeeing more than what was immediately before them. In that caſe, as ſoon as the foremoſt Engliſh horſemen came within ſight of the Spaniſh muſketeers, they would be fired upon, and would fall back upon the main body. The gentlemen who were with Leiceſter, learning by the fire where the fight was to be, would make for the ſcene of action; and the whole 200, thus increaſed to 250, knowing the poſition but not the numbers of the enemy, would advance againſt thoſe they ſaw. The Spaniards, on their part, unable to gueſs the ſtrength of the force that threatened them, would ſtand upon the defenſive. Failing to drive them off by their muſketry, they would meet them with cavalry: and when three ſeveral companies had been ſent againſt them, one after another, and each in its turn had been broken and overthrown by the impetuoſity of the charge, they would be in no good condition to moleſt them in their retreat. For by this time, whether the fog had diſperſed or not, Norris had got near enough to form ſome idea of the ſtrength of the body he was attacking, and to underſtand that without ſome very large reinforcements he could do no more. Sir William Stanley alſo, with his 300 foot, (which Parma ſuppoſed to be 3,000), muſt have come to the ſame concluſion. And as reinforcements to the extent required were not forthcoming (no action on that ſcale having been contemplated), the beſt thing to be done was to get handſomely away. And the manner in which this was effected may fairly be counted among the felicities of the day. The account given in Stow's Chronicle ſeems to be the perſonal narrative of one who was preſent, and completes the hiſtory of the "day at Zutphen."

"All the time this ſkirmiſh was with theſe cornets,"—that was the cavalry fight under Sir John Norris—"ſo our footemen were in fight with the enimie, and by fine force made them once again retire to their ſafetie. The enimie being retired to his ſtrength, all our horſe made a ſtand by the

muſket ſhot, which plaide on them ſore, and braved the enimie, bidding him come foorth if he durſt, but he would not: which Sir *John Norris* ſeeing, rode to his excellencie and bade him be merrie, for ſaid he, you have had this day the honorableſt day that ever you had, for a handful of your men have driven the enimie three times to retrait this one day. Further he willed his excellencie either to ſend for more ſtrength, or elſe to ſound the retrait; which laſt requeſt he graunted, for that his ſtrengthes were otherwiſe emploied, and ſo the retrait being ſounded both by drumme and trumpet, our captaines came backe in good order, every man to his quarter, with great praiſe and honour." Stow, p. 1253.

But what became of the convoy of victuals about which all this diſpute was? The old chroniclers ſay nothing of it: and the later hiſtorians tell ſtrangely different ſtories. Mr. John Bruce—a writer habitually and ſtudiouſly accurate—deſcribing the reſult of the day according to the beſt Engliſh authorities as late as the year 1844, ſays, "The reſult was glorious. The enemy were driven from their poſition, *compelled to abandon their attempt to ſuccour Zutphen*, and to retreat with great loſs in killed and wounded." (*Leyceſter Correſpondence*, p. 414, note.) Mr. Motley, writing in 1860, with the help of the beſt Spaniſh authorities, ſays, "The heroiſm which had been diſplayed was fruitleſs, except as a proof—and ſo Leiceſter wrote to the Palatine John Caſimir—that Spaniards were not invincible. Two thouſand men now ſallied from the Loor gate, under Verdugo and Taſsis, to join the force under Vaſto, and the Engliſh were forced to retreat. *The whole convoy was then carried into the city, and the Spaniards remained maſters of the field*," (p. 54).

The fact is, that of the two perſons who ſhould have known beſt, one ſays the one thing, the other ſays the other. Leiceſter, writing to Burghley, diſtinctly ſtates that "notwithſtanding all theſe troops, the Prince did not put in one waggon, ſave thirty which got in in the night,"—meaning, I ſuppoſe, the night before. The Prince, writing to the King of Spain, congratulates him upon the iſsue, ſeeing that they had completely ſucceeded in what they wanted to do. Leiceſter is not the beſt of witneſses, though his letters concerning this day's work are not written at all in the ſpirit of a man who is making a report in his own honour or juſtification; and Parma's evidence would have had more weight, if he had not in the ſame ſentence pretended to have maintained the fight with few againſt many, (*a la barba de tan buen numero con tanta poca gente*): a gratuitous miſrepreſentation which deprives his teſtimony on the other point of all value. But there is a better reaſon than the Prince's aſsertion of the fact for thinking that the waggons *did* get into Zutphen; which is, that we hear of no further fighting; and, without a fight, what could have prevented 3,000 men (though reduced by the two or

three hundred who may have been killed or diſabled in the morning) from carrying them in after dinner? They were on the road, not above a mile off:* and it was never ſaid that any of them were deſtroyed or carried away by the Engliſh.

P. 27, l. 13. *wᵗ was chaſed.* So in the other MS. One would have expected "wᵗ having ben chaſed."

P. 27, l. 16. *adventurers.* So in MS. Compare p. 11, l. 7. The other MS. has "adventures;" which is probably right. What is meant is that as they had only the wind to truſt to for mercy, ſo they had only chance to truſt to for diſcretion—that is, judicious direction.

---

* Warnsfeld, where the action took place, was "about an Engliſh mile from Zutphen." Motley, Vol. I. p. 45.

CHISWICK PRESS: PRINTED BY WHITTINGHAM AND WILKINS,
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE.

14463.21.25
A conference of pleasure,
Widener Library
002767311
3 2044 086 757 267